turally the purest. This assumption, however, is 101
open to question.) In the seeking of a more sig- 197
nificant classification, and with every available 184
source to hand, it has appeared that, as might 224
be expected, there are certain differences in
social structure related to differences in eco-
nomic activity, notably hunting technique. It
is fortunate that Schebesta's Efe are trackers
and archers, while Putnam's Sua Mbuti are net
hunters. Thus we have represented two groups
not only linguistically and territorially distinct
but also distinguished by hunting technique.
The importance of this latter distinction ap-
pears in the course of the present study. While
it is not claimed that such a classification is
comprehensive or final, at least it is factual and
more directly related to sociological differences
than Schebesta's linguistic division. Conse- 127
quently, we draw on sources in so far as they are 128

[P. 154-C]

[P.160-A]

000 the other groups. Our main source on the Efe is
101 Schebesta, whose major field work was carried
114 out in the triangle bounded by the roads joining
128 Irumu, Mambasa, and Beni. Source material on
131 the Sua is almost entirely confined to a band in the area to the west of the Nduye and north of the Epulu, near the village of Camp Putnam (Fig. 3).

128 Thus the two groups available for study rep-
101 resent not only two of Schebesta's two lin-
184 guistic groups but also the two major hunting
224 techniques used by the Ituri Mbuti. The Efe
are archers, while the Sua are primarily net hunters. It is probable that certain structural differences between the two groups can be accounted for by this difference in economic activity; all such differences are also related to the different degrees of symbiosis between the Pygmies and their village neighbors. What is said of these two groups should be taken to apply within these limited areas only, though it may be found that many of the facts have wider extension.

[P. 160-C]
among the archers from three to 37 huts,[1] but 621
averages about six huts per hunting band 162
(termed "*Lokalgruppe*" by Schebesta, 1948). The net-hunter bands are larger, averaging around 15 huts per hunting band. The particular Epulu band to be considered was an exceptionally large and fluid one, in itself varying from 10 to 30 huts. In practice it often became two hunting bands. Both Schebesta and Put- 621
nam agree that hunting bands do occasionally 628
combine for some special hunting project, but that such alliances are temporary and rare. The Putnam material indicates that, even when such an association does take place, each band rigorously maintains its separate identity, building adjacent but separate camps.

Each single hunting band, among both 621
archers and net hunters, has its own defined 224
hunting area, but until more material is avail- 423
able it is impossible to learn in what other ways the forest is thought of as being divided.

1, [See footnote, bottom of p.160-D
--Analyst]

The environment that so favors a hunting Z
and gathering economy also allows the adapted 241
form of cultivation practiced by the villagers 361
who now live in the forest. These village tribes, 262
generally highly segmented and living in relatively 182
isolated communities, cut large clearings P
and make plantations, the main products of 182
which are plantains, manioc, peanuts, corn, rice, beans, and various kinds of squash. Plantains seem to be the staple food throughout. But the cutting of large clearings opens these villages to the intense heat of direct sunlight, from which the Mbuti never suffer in the uncut forest.

P
The Ituri is full of all kinds of game, the most 136
important of which for the Mbuti are elephant,
various kinds of antelope, forest pig, and monkey. P
The okapi is also hunted occasionally, [224] •
though the Pygmies know that to do so is prohibited by game laws. It is in any case a difficult animal to catch and is pursued only if an easy opportunity offers. Danger comes in the form of forest buffalo, leopard, and a number of poisonous snakes such as the Gaboon viper and the horned viper.

There is a profusion of wild flowers and or-000

[P. 164-D]

[ARCHERS]

with metal points. Schebesta believes that a 411
number of different poisons are used, apart from
the poison described in detail by Parke (1891).
The poisoned arrows are used against tree- [224]
dwelling animals, particularly monkeys, and
hardly ever against antelopes or larger game.
Schebesta contradicts, in the light of his own [114]
experience, Stanley's (1890) assertion that
Mbuti hunt buffalo and elephant with poisoned
arrows.

Mbuti use of antidotes is not known to 278
Schebesta (1941, 65).

ECONOMIC LIFE

Hunting 224

Schebesta (1941, 86 ff.) describes the various hunting techniques used throughout the Ituri. The Efe among whom he did his most detailed work are primarily archers. They do not know the net hunt and seldom practice the communal beat (Efe: *begbe*). Schebesta (1941, 86) ranks the ambush as most important. This method of hunting is used by the older men no longer able to track game successfully. They lie in wait and imitate the call of the game, attracting it until it is within range of their iron-tipped arrows.

The daily hunt, however, is the track hunt

[P. 169-D]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 171-B]

[ARCHERS]

• 224 (*Hetzjagd*, Schebesta, 1941, 89; Efe: ***motá***) in which the male members of the local group take part. Five or six men go out when the sun is high (~~and the~~ undergrowth dry) accompanied by hunting dogs. Schebesta mentions a hunt leader (Efe: ***astasi***) who gives the signal for departure and follows the dog, guided by the sound of its wooden bell. He shouts encouragement to the dog, and the other trackers, guided by these sounds, spread out on either side of the hunt leader. When the dog puts up game, the hunters all stand rigid, bows flexed, ready to

[P. 171-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 172-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P. 172-B]

shoot if the animal passes their way. Sometimes the animal is killed by the dog; sometimes it escapes or is only wounded and must be pursued. It may happen that the dog itself is wounded, a major catastrophe for the hunters. 224

The rewards of this type of hunt are varied. A group of five or six hunters may be able to bring back an antelope each day, or may fail completely for days on end. The hunt seldom strays far from the camp and, with or without game, returns by late afternoon. According to Schebesta, the game caught is usually gutted on the spot and divided among the hunters, who bring back their shares wrapped in leaves, nothing being left unused. This division of game is according to traditional usage. [554] If the game is brought back whole, only the elder with the aid of an assistant can divide it. It is laid on leaves, then skinned with sharp metal arrowpoints and gutted. The sharing is theoretically only between members of the band, but in fact is between any who took part in the hunt directly or indirectly. Thus the owner of the dog, or of the bow and arrow (if borrowed) that killed the game, may claim a share. An animal killed in the territory of another band belongs to that band, [628] but Schebesta says that normally neighboring bands overlook this unless it happens frequently, when hostilities may ensue.

[ARCHERS]

This method of hunting serves only for antelope; 224
Schebesta never saw okapi, wild boar, or [136]
big game brought in from such a hunt.

The beat hunt seldom takes place, says
Schebesta (1941, 98), because it requires the
participation of large numbers of people, often
from more than one band, including women and
young girls, who can seldom be persuaded to
take part. Also, it occupies an entire day. Ritual 224
preparations include setting fire to certain herbs 372
by the hunt leaders (an old man and an old
widow in the hunt described by Schebesta).
This produces a dense smoke, the sight and [776]
scent of which bring the hunters to the attention
of their God. The old widow asks that rain [782]
should not surprise them. The ritual takes place [828]
a little way off from the camp; the other members
of the hunt when they arrive rub their
temples and eyes with the cinders, as did the
old couple, in order to see better. The *begbe* hunt 224
then sets out, and, when a suitable spot is 824
found, the women make their petards from a
certain bush (Efe: *magba*). By rolling the leafy

[P.172-C]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 173-B]

[ARCHERS]

224 [824] stems in a special way they form cylinders which, when struck on the ground, make an effective clap. The women then go ahead and by the loud beating of their petards put up game for the men to shoot with their metal-tipped arrows. This form of hunt is usually successful in killing a number of animals, which are shared among the various hunting bands that took part in the beat.

Elephant hunting takes place only among those Mbuti who use spears (Fig. 10; Schebesta, 1941, 106); bows and arrows are quite incapable of doing more than blind an elephant, despite the reports of imaginative travelers to the contrary. Those archers who use only bow and arrow do not hunt elephant. Wild boar, similarly, are killed only with spear, especially when [262] they appear near the camp. Monkeys and chimpanzees, considered as delicacies, are pur-

[P. 173-B]

[ARCHERS]

sued and shot with bow and arrow whenever the 224•
opportunity arises but are never the object of [262]
organized hunting. Other smaller animals and birds are hunted individually; those that take refuge in holes in trees are smoked out.

Schebesta's account suggests that, despite his 224
proficiency at the hunt, the Pygmy takes care 789
to protect himself against its attendant dangers [776]
and disappointments by securing the cooperation
of the God of the Forest, and of his ancestors, [769]
and by making use of magic. He carries charms, observes various taboos, and performs certain rites—mostly sympathetic. It is not clearly stated, however, exactly which rites and charms are used by which particular Pygmies; there is obviously a great deal of variation. Schebesta clearly indicates, however, that among the archers there seems to be a considerable amount of hunting magic and ritual, witnessed by their use of the special whistles (Efe: *segbe*), magic formulas, invocation, and ritual practices he describes.

[P. 173-C]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

[ARCHERS]

[P.185-C]

Informal relationships occur through the custom of family visits to relatives in other bands, and, perhaps most important of all, through bands attending each other's dances. Here the Mbuti extend their social boundaries and find suitable partners for married life. There is no detailed study of inter-band relationships or of the precise implications of inter-band marriage. Joint hunting is rare, except for *begbe*.

P
628
[574]

P
[582]
[224]

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN BANDS AND VILLAGERS

These relationships are essentially between the lineage head and the villager chief, according to Schebesta. Maes (1935, 138) writes that the villagers regard the Pygmies as beasts of burden and that the villager chiefs force them to act as porters and to help with the upkeep of the roads (a duty imposed on the villagers by the Belgians). Costermans (1937), however, agrees with the opposite opinion that the Mbuti, who undoubtedly stand in definite relationships to the villagers, accepting their patronage, do so only as long as they find it convenient. On the slightest pretext, they transfer their allegiance to another chief. The Mbuti, he says, do not recognize the authority of the villager chief, nor do they pay any attention to villager manners and customs.

P
Z
648
186
Z
[563]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[ARCHERS]

[P. 186-A]

000 the archers and rendering the latter dependent on their Lese neighbors.

LEGAL SYSTEM

671
421 There is virtually no evidence from which any conclusions can be drawn about the legal system of the Efe archers or even of the nature of the sanctions that uphold social behavior. Schebesta (1941, 275 ff.; 1948, 533 ff.) points out, however, that, though the Mbuti function at one of the lowest known stages of economic development, they recognize both private and collective ownership and there is a definite property law.

421
621
628 The district hunted by the band, together with all the vegetable and animal food contained in that district and also raw materials used in Pygmy technology, is the collective property of the band. All members of the band share equal rights. Alien bands are tolerated only to the limit that the resident band desires to extend hospitality. The boundaries of the various territories, generally well known to all, are considered inviolable. If an animal is [224] hunted across a boundary and killed there, it belongs to the band in whose territory it was killed. If the neighboring bands are on good terms, they usually share the spoil.

[ARCHERS]

[P. 190-4]

782
776 God of the Undergrowth in the form of invocations, offerings, propitiatory sacrifice, and perhaps also a number of the practices of the *toré* association. There is no cult to any celestial divinity, of which the Mbuti have only vague notions.

782
821
372
534 Invocations usually concern the weather (requests for a storm to pass over speedily or to be diverted) and are often accompanied by the blowing of the *segbe* magic pipe, indicating with the arm the direction the storm should take. The archers also may light a special fire and cover it with leaves so that a thick smoke rises. The God of the Undergrowth sees the smoke, smells its fragrance, and hears the *segbe* pipes. His attention is thus drawn to the plight of his "children."

782
224
372 There is a similar ritual of fire and smoke in connection with the hunt, particularly the apparently ancient *begbe* beat hunt, as is mentioned above (p. 172). Invocations frequently use the term "father" or "grandfather."

[ARCHERS]

782 All Mbuti are said by Schebesta to offer a portion of food to the God of the Undergrowth. We can take this to apply to the archers. The practice seems to concern only food that has been hunted or gathered—game, honey, and vegetable products. The offering, never made with great fervor, may simply be thrown into the undergrowth, either in silence or with a brief comment such as "*Mugu! daó a iye!*" ("*Mugu!* This is for you!"). Alternatively, it may be placed on a leaf and taken with care into the forest and put in the fork of a tree, with or without an invocation. Stakes may be used, driven into the ground, forked into three or [415] [177] more branches at the upper end. Clay pots (obtained from villagers) or potsherds are placed in these forks for the offerings. Holes in the sides of trees are also used as a depository for offerings. The Mbuti do not usually use special shrines or spirit huts, affirms Schebesta, though in imitation of the villager ancestor shrines, they sometimes build crude shelters for the God of the Undergrowth and, on occasion, place offerings there.

[224] [769] [776] According to one of Schebesta's archer informants, sacrifice following the hunt is not to Toré but to the *lodi* (the dead) who then intercede with Toré.

782 776 224 Another important sacrifice is made for the re-opening of the forest (*abo lese* or *sulia*). Continuously bad hunting may be attributed to the anger of the God of the Undergrowth, caused by

[P. 190-B]

[ARCHERS]

[P.190-C]

some individual among Toré's children. In his 782
anger he closes the forest so that the hunters can 776
kill no game. Under the circumstances all the 224
weapons in the camp are brought out and placed
in a pile in the center of the clearing. The hunters stand around in a circle, each with an arm
held over the weapons. As described by Schebesta, the transgressor, who had divided game
he had caught without waiting for the elder,
brandished a live chicken over the center of the
circle praying for success in the hunt. In the invocation he mentioned Bali (local name for the
God of the Undergrowth), "fathers," "grandfathers," and the name of his own father who
had apparently been an outstanding hunter.
Then the elder cut off the head of the chicken,
sprinkled blood on the weapons and the arms of
the hunters, and threw the fluttering carcass
onto the ground. Everyone watched which way [789]
it moved, and when it finally fell with the
stump of its neck pointing toward the forest,
this was taken as a good omen and there was a

[ARCHERS]

shout of joy. The wife of the elder then took 776
the carcass and invoked Bali and the ancestors, 224 •
asking them to give their children game again.
The dead chicken was then given to a woman 782
married into another band who, together with
her children, ate it. This woman's son, a
nephew of the band concerned, built a small hut
(*sa'a*) near the elder's hut, and placed in it the
heart and liver of the chicken; the head was
stuck on a stake above. The elder made an
invocation for game to both Bali and the *befe*
(sprites).

Schebesta came across this ceremony twice, 782
once at Rodjo and once at Maseda, identical 184
each time except for minor differences. Certain 177
details, he claims, are borrowed from the vil-
lagers, such as the use of a chicken, which the [235]
Mbuti do not raise. He thinks that the sprinkling of blood is also foreign but that nonetheless there evidently was once an indigenous ceremony for opening the forest, involving the offering of the heart and entrails of game.

This practice of invocation and sacrifice to the 782
"*Buschgott*" is held by Schebesta (1950, 209) to 776
be the most significant feature of Mbuti reli- 171
gion, distinguishing it clearly from the religion of the villagers who have no cult to the forest God.

Costermans (1938), however, believes that 776
the word "Toré" cannot be associated with 192
"God," that the *toré* association has no religious 114

[P. 190-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

en. The making of barkcloth and netting, and 462
the painting of designs on cloth and body, are
individual skills which are utilized for the
craftsman himself or for his immediate family.
Women living in adjoining huts sometimes ex- [476]
change their skills in body painting, exercising [571]
their art on one another.

ECONOMIC LIFE

HUNTING

Like Schebesta, Putnam stresses hunting and 224
gathering as the basis of Mbuti economy. Put- 433
nam (1948, 327) also states that hunting is the 439
principal means by which the Pygmy-villager 177
relationship is maintained. Although there is [222]
little division of labor among the Mbuti them- [463]
selves, he (1948, 328) says in a sense that they
are all specialists in hunting, so there is a divi-
sion of labor between Pygmy and village groups,
the two together forming a larger economic en-
tity. The villager may do some hunting, but [171]
largely by means of traps, deadfalls, and pits.
It occupies little of his time and is not very pro-
ductive. For the Pygmy, hunting is a full-time
occupation.

[P. 201-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

224
184
The Pygmy has no use for traps or pits. These require too much work and are, by his standards, inefficient. Throughout the Ituri the Mbuti can be classified as net hunters or non-net hunters or, conversely, as archers or non-archers. Putnam states that this adherence to either hunting technique depends on the prevailing villager custom, as the villagers supply the Pygmies with both nets and arrowheads. Later, he modified this view because the Pygmies are, in fact, making nets all the time by adding to and subtracting from their existing nets, as mentioned above. [Schebesta (1933) refers to the Pygmies as making their own nets.]

[221]
[476]
This division into archers and net hunters is also significant with regard to social organization, says Putnam (1948, 328), since "The degree to which co-operation is required in hunting, and the numbers of people involved, are the principal factors in determining the composition of the band."

[P. 202- B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.202-C]

The net-hunting technique is similar to that of the *begbe* described by Schebesta (1952, 133 ff.) but with the notable absence of the leadership of an "elder." The decision as to when and where to hunt is made during the evening preceding the hunt, in conversation among all the hunters around the campfire. Whereas rain puts an end to both net hunting and tracking, lack of rain (causing dry leaves to crackle underfoot) is disadvantageous only to trackers. Like the beat hunt, net hunting relies on the ***amount*** of noise that can be made. 224 184

The net hunt calls for a minimum of seven nets, each married man owning a net. Unmarried men may also own nets if they have proved their prowess as hunters. It is usual in a normal camp of about 17 huts for the majority of men, women, and children to join the hunt. If the camp is large, some members stay behind and perform their various subsidiary chores such as the repair of nets, the manufacture of barkcloth and twine, gathering, and so forth. The women joining the hunt carry their babies on their backs; boys and young men are armed with bows and arrows or spears; and the heads of families carry their nets and spears. Various 224 [422] [512] [854]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 203-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.203-A]

• 224
286

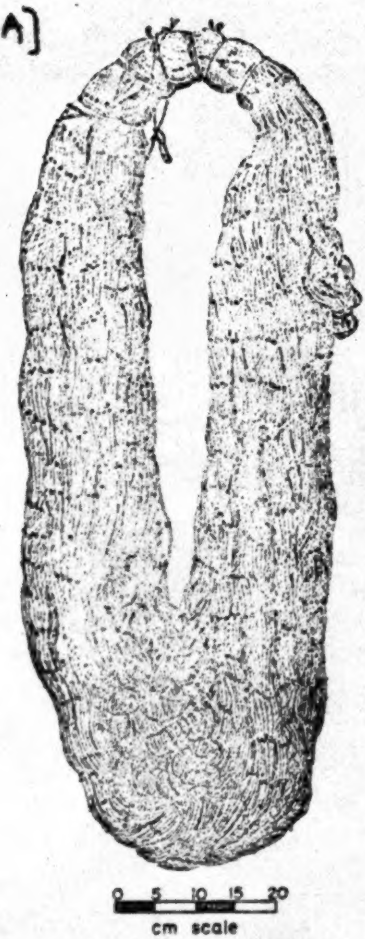


FIG. 34. Hunting net, *kuya*, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Coiled and bound for carrying over the shoulders.

[NET HUNTERS]

224 [114] **Various** early travelers describe net hunts in similar terms (Parke, 1891; Lloyd, 1899; Geil, 1905; Christy, 1924). Parke (1891) gives a detailed description of the nets, which corresponds to that given by Putnam, and records their length as from 100 to 200 feet. He gives the height of the net, however, as 5 feet, while the nets used by the Epulu net hunters are barely 4 feet high (Figs. 34–36).

When a suitable place is reached, the women make beaters of twigs and branches, and go off into the forest, while the men set the nets up end-to-end, in a large semicircle. The women carry their babies, but the young children are left with the men.

Putnam indicates that there is a difference in the value of different positions in the circle of nets; the central positions are the most likely to catch game. There is a definite system in set-

[P. 203-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.203-C]

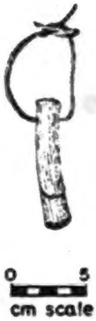


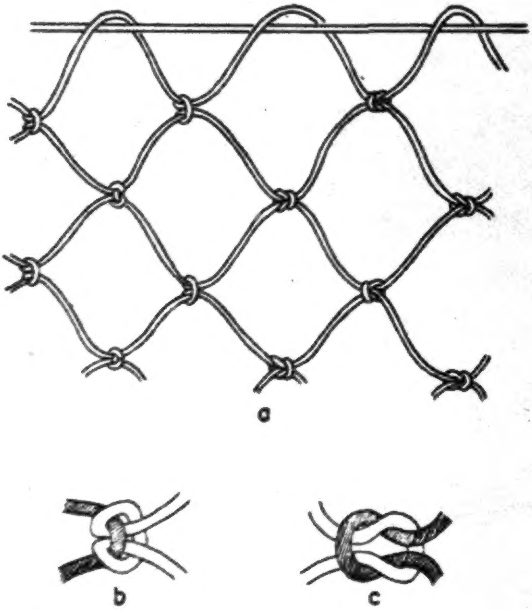
FIG. 35. Magic whistle, ***mamambamamba***, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri. Such magic is rare, though pipes and whistles are sometimes blown before a hunt in the belief that the sound will attract game.

ting up the nets, with a special vocabulary of 224 technical terms to deal with it, but he does not give the details.

When all is ready, the women, who have spread out in an opposing semicircle, start beating into the nets, calling and shouting, beating their sticks on the ground. If they see any slow game heading their way, they dive for it and

[NET HUNTERS]

catch it with their hands, put it in a basket, and continue beating. Their main object is to put up game and drive it toward the nets. There, the men are in readiness, motionless until some animal is tangled in the meshes. Then they seize it, and the owner of that particular net kills the 224 •



224
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286

FIG. 36. Details of knotting used in hunting net, net hunters, Epulu District, Central Ituri.

[P. 203-D]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P-204-A]

224 [201] animal with his knife or spear. He claps his armpit to signal his success to his companions. The women by the tone of their shouting and the men by their arm-clapping (KiBira: *kombo*) can indicate not only when and where game is put up, but the kind of game.

In a day's hunting this process may be repeated as many as seven times, if the rain holds off. But if the first few casts of the nets are successful the Pygmies return to camp. They make no provision for the storage of meat or any other food.

If large game, such as buffalo, is driven toward them, the Mbuti try to lower the nets to avoid their being damaged; otherwise, the buffalo will probably tear its way through, though it may be delayed long enough for the hunters to spear it. Antelope is the game normally [483] caught. The hunter carries the dead animal around his neck back to the camp for division. If a larger animal, such as an okapi, is caught, it is cut up on the spot and carried back to the camp in the women's baskets. There all the meat is spread out and the division takes place

[NET HUNTERS]

• 224 according to specific custom (details not given), after which a share may be sent to the villagers. Putnam says that the average catch for a day is half an antelope (the size of a goat) per man [281] (i.e., per family). Skins are stretched on frames, or staked out on the ground, for drying (Figs. 32–33).

224 426 Anne Putnam gives the hunting rules as told to her by one of the great hunters of the Epulu group. From these rules it appears that a net owner, if he lends his net to another, has varying claims according to the number of animals that fall into the net during any one day. The liver always belongs to the net owners, while the head, and a leg or legs if more than one animal is caught, go to the hunter. If an antelope gets caught in two nets, or escapes from one into another, the two net owners share it. If an animal becomes entangled and escapes without cutting the net and is subsequently caught, it belongs to the net owner. If, however, it cuts the net, then it belongs to whoever kills it.

224 621 554 628 Anne Putnam also gives the positions of net owners in the hunting circle of a large band of three combined hunting bands. Apparently, while the junior members of the two visiting bands tend to keep to themselves at each extremity of the line of nets, the main (host)

[P. 204-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 204-C]

group occupies the center, with the important hunters from all three bands occupying the most central positions. Figure 16 gives the plan of the camp, showing the separation of these three "bands". In fact they are more likely segments of the same band in the process of fission. 224 621 628 554

Net hunters do not use bows and arrows (Figs. 37–39) to any appreciable extent, and they are poor archers. Putnam, in his travels throughout the forest, found few really good archers. He says that they shoot arrows with great rapidity, but that only one out of five may 224 411

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 205-A]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 205-A]

224 hit the target. At tracking, however, the Mbuti
411 are excellent, being able to move swiftly and silently through the forest. They can, in Putnam's estimation, catch game with their hands, and often do so, as successfully as by using their bows and arrows. Iron-tipped arrows are used on larger game, and untipped, poisoned arrows
[278] are used mainly for monkeys and birds. The poison is prepared individually, strophanthus being the vital plant acting as a heart stimulant.

224 Hunting dogs are used both during the net hunt and by individual owners for hunting wild boar.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 205-B]

Elephant hunting is important in the Epulu 224 •
District. Certain bands of Pygmies are special-
ists. Among the local net-hunting band from
which the most detailed information is avail-
able, however, four out of 12 or 15 hunters are
elephant hunters. Putnam says that the present [178]
form of elephant hunting is a recent develop-
ment in answer to the needs of the villagers
whose plantations were continually being ra-
vaged by elephants and who encouraged the
Pygmies to kill them off. In the early days the [237]
villagers had little use for the tusks, other than [439]
as barkcloth beaters, but with the advent of

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 206-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

224 [237] [439] Arab traders ivory became a most precious commodity, and the Pygmies were doubly incouraged to kill elephants. For the Pygmies themselves, a slain elephant was a source of great satisfaction, providing them with meat ample enough to obviate the necessity of hunting for several days.

[157] The killing of the animal was, and still is, a matter that inspired the normally audacious Mbuti with some caution. Putnam says that elephant hunting is a specialist occupation; not every Pygmy is brave enough, and the technique itself takes great skill. [171] The villagers use spear-falls and elephant pits (dug so as to trap

[P. 206-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

224
(071)

the elephant's forefeet and head only), but this method of hunting is foreign to the Mbuti. Travelers such as Parke (1891) who observed spear-falls and pits almost certainly saw those made by villagers, not Pygmies. Casati (1891), Lloyd (1899), Geil (1905), Christy (1924), and others mention the fact that Pygmies are able to kill elephants with their bows and arrows, a technical ability strongly denied by Schebesta, Putnam, and the Pygmies themselves. Schweinfurth (1874, 65–66, 70) was told by a villager informant that the northern Mbuti are able to kill an elephant either with bow and arrow or by thrusting a spear into its belly. The latter

[P. 206-C]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 207-A]

• 224 method was known to Putnam, who says that a special spear, with a long wide blade of soft metal, is used (Fig. 40). The shaft is about 4 feet long and stout; the blade is carefully sharpened on a stone (as the Pygmy sharpens all his [825] blades). The hunter, who may make use of elephant droppings to cover his scent, tracks the elephant, approaches it silently up wind, and thrusts the spear as far as he can into the belly, just behind the ribs. Putnam says that the Pygmy then stands absolutely still (but presumably having jumped into the cover of the bush), and that the Pygmies themselves said that if you "as much as wink at this moment you are a dead Pygmy" (Putnam, 1948, 331). He may, if the opportunity offers, repeat this process. When he returns to camp the others examine his spear and decide, according to the distance the blood has reached down the blade, whether the wound is fatal and justifies tracking or not. If they decide the wound is fatal, the entire camp sets off, leaving only an old couple to look after the camp. They track the elephant for two or three days until it dies of peritonitis.

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224 Putnam describes a ceremony that takes place at that time. A man other than the hunter cuts off a section of the skin, a little at a time, distributing it for all to eat. When he has cut down to the inner wall of the abdomen and everyone has had a piece, he stands aside for the youngest son of the successful hunter to bite through the wall, whereupon the bloated elephant bursts. [262] Putnam says that this ceremony is repugnant to the Pygmies, who dislike raw meat, and particularly repugnant to the child, but he does not explain the practice.

251 252 261 Following this ceremony, the animal is quickly and completely butchered, and the meat is cooked. The Pygmies eat as much as they can. They partly boil and partly dry some (the only form of preservation of foodstuff ever practiced by them) and take this to the village.

224 In 1951, Putnam gave me another version of this form of hunt, in which the Pygmy thrusts the spear into the bladder of the elephant, and, if he sees that the urine is released, he returns to camp knowing that it will die within a few days. The procedure is then as above. Anne Putnam (1954, 93) mentions a net hunter who tracked and killed an elephant at a time when there was no shortage of food, simply because he felt the urge to do so.

Schebesta (1941, 106 ff.) mentions two types

[P. 207-B]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 208-A]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 208-A]

• 224 of elephant hunt known to him. The first makes use of a spear such as that described by Putnam, but the Pygmy, instead of thrusting it into the belly, creeps up behind the elephant and cuts the tendon above one of its heels. The elephant spins around, at which a second hunter, waiting for this action, leaps out of the bush and cuts the tendon of the other heel, thus bringing the elephant down, at which point it is easily killed —often by blinding it and then cutting off the trunk and leaving it to bleed to death. The second method makes use of a harpoon, and according to Schebesta, this is the method used among the net hunters. Here the harpoon is thrust into the belly, as described by Putnam, after which the Pygmy leaps clear. If thrust far enough, the elephant dies from lacerations caused by the dragging on the harpoon head as the attached cord snags on trees and undergrowth during the animal's flight.

[223] Men may individually kill monkeys and birds with their bows and arrows, supplementing their individual family food supply, and women out gathering may catch slow game with their
226 hands. Children, and occasionally women, fish and catch crabs. Fishing seems more highly de-
[184] veloped among the net hunters than among Schebesta's archers, as the net hunters know of certain grubs that make good bait and can be found in the *kukumu* tree, and also understand the use of poison for catching fish.

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[P. 208-B]

the use of poison for catching fish. The poison 226
(KiBira: *matungu*) is prepared from the bark of [278]
the *atungo* tree, and has been known to blind
people who get it in the eyes. Fish caught by 252
the children are placed by them in leaves with 857
salt and roasted on fire embers. Salt is obtained 263
either from plantain skins, or in the *ido*, which
are open, well-watered clearings found in the
forest. Children also hunt rats and mice with 857
their miniature bows and arrows. 224

Gathering

As with the archers, gathering is mostly the 222
province of women and children (mainly wo- 462
men), though men will gather any edible food 857
they happen to pass. Gathering is an individual rather than a collective activity. Gathering activities that require the climbing of high trees, such as the collection of most nuts, are undertaken by men, who also collect termites, silkworms, and honey. The contribution of children, though not organized, is appreciable.

The foods available are the same as those de- 222
scribed by Schebesta. It appears that the net hunters make much fuller use of forest products, the most important of which are nuts, edible fungus, and edible roots, each of which can be subdivided into a number of different species, not only insuring a supply at all seasons, for each species has its own season, but also variety.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 209-B]

[P.223-C]

the official wailing, as well as before or after it. 152

Anne Putnam (1954, 77) mentions the opin- 764
ion of a Pygmy hunter concerning the village 829
custom of burying the dead in a cemetery. He is reported as saying, "There the ground locks everyone's arms together and it isn't comfortable."

She also refers (1954, 81) to village speech- 763
making following a burial, during which the 761
cause of the death is hinted at. On one occasion, [754]
the death of a young Pygmy girl in the village, the villagers attributed the calamity to the evil-eye and roused a relative of the girl to vow vengeance. The next morning, however, the Pyg- 765
mies all went hunting, despite the assurance of 177
the villagers that it was dangerous to go hunt- 224
ing for three days after any death and that no game would fall into their nets. Four antelope were caught.

[NET HUNTERS]

The physical discipline and training in the *nkumbi* camp undoubtedly toughen the body, and the boy emerges, even after a short *nkumbi* of two months' duration, very much more adult than on his entry (see my separate account, 1957, of the *nkumbi*). But as far as the Mbuti are concerned, he is still a child, until he has proved himself a hunter. As he grows older, he is allowed to sit with the men in the evenings and gradually to take part in their conversation and some of their activities. He may even be allowed to sit nearby as they sing songs of the *molimo*, but not to take full part. Mrs. Putnam, however, believes that the *nkumbi* does entitle the boy to partial membership, at least, in the *molimo*. She holds this opinion because of her personal knowledge that certain boys who previously were secluded with the womenfolk in their huts during *molimo* proceedings, as she was herself, were not secluded following their *nkumbi* initiation. As a woman, however, she was unable to witness the *molimo* itself, except for some dances she caught sight of by chance. My own material indicates that anyone who has been acclaimed as a hunter is allowed to take full part in the association's proceedings and that there are *nkumbi* initiates who are not considered as hunters and who are definitely barred from full participation. The Putnam material demonstrates the close relation of hunting skill

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[P 224-D]

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 225-B]

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[P.225-A]

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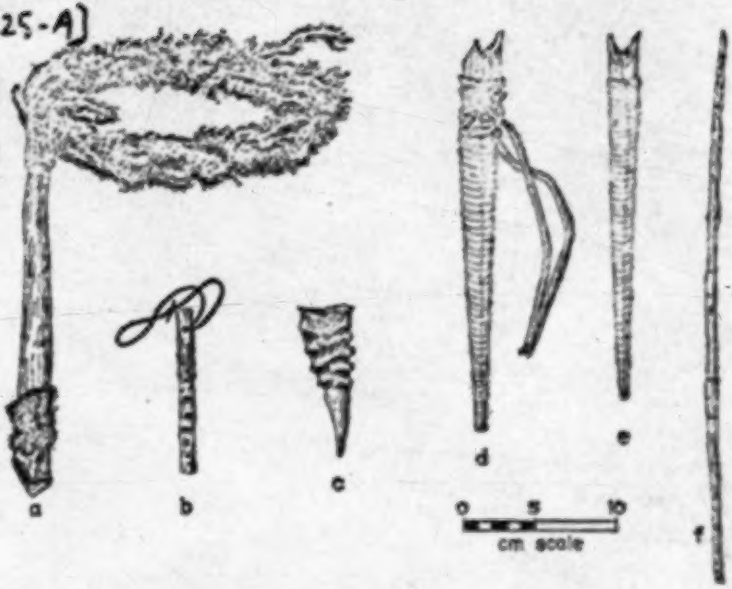

FIG. 51. Magical paraphernalia, net hunters, Epulu District,
Central Ituri. a. Pipe, *akbelea*, attached to fur headband; worn by
a few net hunters, the pipe sometimes being blown before they
[237] set out on a hunt. b. Wooden whistle, *angbelu*. c. Antelope horn,
[228] *anjo*, used to carry paste sometimes smeared on the face to
heighten the senses of smell, sound, and sight. d. Honey whistle,
[222] *madé*, used during the honey season for "calling" the honey. e.
Honey whistle, *madé*. f. Hunting whistle, *manyongé*, found in
northwest area; stuck in the ground near a special hunting fire in
the camp and pointing in the direction in which the hunt has gone.

[NET HUNTERS]

575 561 88 [554] [224] to status in the band and the fact that young men, as yet unmarried, who have displayed particular prowess as hunters may take a prominent part in *molimo* activities. In the absence of any detailed information on formal initiation into the *molimo*, we can at least say with some certainty, from the available material, that among the net hunters membership is associated primarily with hunting skill.

575 796 With regard to the proceedings of the association, all reports from this district indicate that the *molimo* is held only on occasions of the greatest importance to the community: various crises, and particularly death. A fuller account is given elsewhere (Turnbull, 1960b, 307–340); a summary is given here.

534 [192] The word *molimo* is used to denote the association, its proceedings, and a musical instrument. Only one instrument is reported by the Putnams as being used—the *molimo* trumpet. But Anne Putnam, in her notes, mentions having heard the trumpet one night and thinking that it sounded very different from the one she had heard some months previously. It is possi-

[P. 225-8]

[NET HUNTERS] A
421 224 lazy hunter and his family go without meat; an idle woman goes without vegetables and has no roof to her hut. The division of game obtained during a net hunt is the only division that includes everyone in the band, whether or not they attended the hunt. Even then we do not know whether those who did not attend had any arrangement with any of the actual hunters. Nets are frequently lent, as are spears. It may well be that absentee members of the hunt participate by proxy and in this way entitle themselves to a share. The division itself, as is mentioned above, is said to be subject to complicated rules.

594 222 421 Apart from the net hunt, which is essentially collective and cooperative and concerns the band, other forms of food quest are familial. A woman is entitled to what she finds, for herself and her family. Similarly a man, hunting 594 224 421 individually with bow and arrow, may claim as his own anything that he may bring in, though in such a case there is some doubt. Using bow and arrow he would be likely to bring in only small game, and rarely, these Mbuti being very poor shots. If however, he killed or found large game, such as an okapi, on his own, it would be

[P. 230-B]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 230-C]

most unlikely that the collective rules of division would not apply. It seems therefore to be a question of surplus. Every family is entitled to a minimum insured by the collective hunt and is equally entitled to the maximum that it can acquire and consume itself. Any surplus is not used for trade but becomes the share of the rest of the community. Maximum here must imply a correlation of capacity and decency. Putnam says that a woman who does not share the products of her gathering expedition with her friends (regardless of the quantity) is looked on with scorn. Similarly, when a man is sitting among his fellow hunters and his wife brings him a meal, he eats most of it himself but shares at least some with his companions. There is a definite preference in such sharing, but whether the amount of the portion depends on kinship or friendship or both is not clear in the sources under consideration.

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534 Normally, however, and when drums are not available, short resonant sticks are used. These are either smooth, giving a sharp hollow sound, or else they are split and shaved at one end to provide a totally different accompaniment. These sticks, handclaps, and leg stampings provide the rhythmic background to the dance.[1]

535 224 825 Mrs. Putnam has seen a dance in which a mask made from a leopard skin was used by the Mbuti. She also describes fully (1954, 296 ff.) a dance performed by them following the killing of a leopard. The body of the leopard is strung up to a branch or a tall stake. All the men, armed with liana whips and whips made from plaited antelope hide, gather around it. The men who are responsible for killing the leopard dance by themselves, approaching the stake. As they do so, they are attacked by the others, and have to fight their way to the leopard's body and cut it down, at which everyone gives a shout of triumph. In the

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[1] It is most notable that for religious song and dance such is the only form of accompaniment, even if drums are available.

[P. 234-8]

[NET HUNTERS]

[P. 234-C]

dance observed by Mrs. Putnam the man who 535
first speared the leopard was wounded but 224 •
nonetheless took part in the dance. The other 825
two men involved in the killing protected him as much as they could from their attackers and guarded him as he cut the leopard down. Onlookers said that he would not have been thought a coward if he had not taken part, because of his wounds, but he had chosen to do so.

Song, used in conjunction with dance, as 533
described by Schebesta, also has a separate function and operates as an art form in its own right. This, at first, Schebesta (1933, 301) denied, but later (1936b, 27; 1948, 259) he conceded the greater importance of song over dance. Among the net hunters there is a very clear division of song into four main categories, each of which can be distinguished by style and technique alone, and a fifth subsidiary category of play songs. The main categories are, as briefly mentioned above (p. 213), religious songs and secular songs, each subdivided according to sex, i.e., songs of the men's

[NET HUNTERS]

complete documentation places it in the realm 128
of hypothesis rather than fact.

The Chthonic God

Schebesta does not specify whether the particular 114
Mbuti from whom he collected most of
his Sua material are net hunters or archers.
But, except for his remarks on the Kango and
"village Sua" (1952, 49, footnote, 301) to the
extreme west of the Ituri forest, he seems to
have drawn largely on the southeastern Mbuti.
His information (1950, 14–24) does not differ [184]
greatly from that for the archers. The names 776
given to the divinity are Mu(n)gu, Keti,
Kalisia, and So(n)ge. Epulu net hunters also
loosely use the term Mungu, as do the neighboring
villagers. According to Schebesta,
Kalisia is the lord of the forest and game, and
patron of the hunters, whom he loves. They [224] •
owe everything to him. Above all, he is a benevolent
God, helping the Mbuti in the hunt,
guiding their weapons and assisting the beat,
preceding the beaters and opening the trail. He [787]
is also the lord of dreams, making his wishes
known to the elder, telling the hunter where to
find game.

[NET HUNTERS]

[P.237-C]

the basic necessities of life. No seasonal change involves them in any significant change of activity (except possibly the honey season, when game hunting may be abandoned). The economy of the Mbuti further militates against elaborate ritual by preventing the easy manufacture of ritual trappings and by not allowing for any substantial form of sacrifice. Nor is it possible to provide time and men for ritual specialization. This much applies throughout the Ituri. However, the net hunters, by their hunting techniques, are assured of a larger and steadier supply of game than the archers. Nevertheless, crises occur. The Mbuti, for instance, are frequently beset with the tempestuous rainstorms that sweep the forest in the afternoons and, more rarely, during the night or early morning. Putnam (1948, 338) points out that these storms not only cause physical discomfort in the hunting camp, where huts may become flooded and the clearing so swamped in mud that the whole camp must be moved, but they also prevent hunting and bring death through lightning or through causing dead branches to fall on people. Putnam writes: "No other element in their life causes so much disturbance or upsets them so profoundly" (1948, 338).

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[P. 238-A]

788 any other god or spiritual being for protection
[782] or aid. Mbuti ritual, such as it is, is simply "A
number of symbolic actions performed as parts
[224] of technological operations in order to smooth
over the disturbance caused by some kind of
change," e.g., the elephant-hunting ritual in
which the youngest male descendant of the
hunter ritually pierces the elephant's side and
opens the operations dividing the meat for
consumption (cf. p. 207).

771 Putnam, further, was never convinced that
[776] the Mbuti had any notion similar to the European
notion of God. He disagrees strongly with
Schebesta's interpretation of Mbuti religious
practice as indicating a belief in a personal god.
[789] He suggests that the ritual practices described
by Schebesta were, in fact, no more than sympathetic
magic, and that a belief in the direct
cause and effect in their magical practices is the
only kind of "religious" belief that can safely
be ascribed to the forest dwellers, Pygmy or
villager.

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[P. 240-A]

789 [184] tree limb on top of a hut. Such contexts evoke a different response, it seems, among the archers who actively influence the outcome of any critical situation by the use of their *megbe*, often by their *segbe* pipes. The magic described by the Putnams is essentially sympathetic and does not involve any belief in spiritual assistance. 789 821 Thus stones may not be dropped in the water, or they will cause rain; a bright fire should be smothered until it is a mere glow during a storm, lest it attract the lightning (according to one informant) or in order to drive the lightning away (according to another, in the same discussion). All the magic that Putnam observed among the net hunters was connected with the weather and the prevention of rain, though he does not deny the possibility that magic might be used to stop the rain, once begun.

789 224 Mrs. Putnam describes a number of magical practices, most of which are connected with either rain or the hunt. The latter simply involve the use of villager witch doctors to perform a ceremony to improve the hunting. The ceremony is never conducted by a Pygmy, nor is it clear on whose initiative it is usually per-

[NET HUNTERS]

789 224 formed. Mrs. Putnam says that the Pygmies may ask the villager to perform the ceremony, but it is also certain that the villagers themselves, if they do not get enough meat from the Pygmies, insist on performing it. The use of a [534] *segbe* whistle is mentioned only once by Patrick Putnam. It was incorporated in a hunting net (Figs. 34–35) for the hunter to blow into to attract the antelope. This hunter was the camp joker. *Segbe* whistles and pipes may assume many forms, being incorporated in fur headbands (Fig. 51a) or left loose (Fig. 51b). Other [237] hunting magic found among the net hunters, not mentioned by Putnam, is *anjo* (Fig. 51c), an antelope horn in which is kept a paste made of animal parts, rubbed over the eyes and head of the hunter before the hunt.

789 534 222 *Segbe* are not to be confused with *madi* (Fig. 51d–e) pipes, which are used only during the honey season.

789 821 372 Rain magic involves the covering of the campfires with leaves but evidently without much faith in the efficacy of this action, as all practical precautions are taken as well, such as putting hunting nets under cover, bringing fire inside the huts, and taking in barkcloth that has been left outside to dry. Further, the use of

[P.240-B]

While there may be one preferred "camp lan- 184
guage," most of the members of any one camp 197
speak three different languages with more or
less equal fluency. Each individual's linguistic
abilities depend to some extent on the direction
of his kinship ties and to some extent on his
attachment to one villager tribe or another.
The differences in social organization can be 184
related directly to differences in hunting tech- 224
nique. Concerned as we are with the situation 621
as we find it, we need not deal here with the 182
alleged origin of these hunting techniques nor
the relative "purity" of the Pygmy groups
practicing them.

The immediate and most obvious difference found in a comparison of the accounts of the archers and the net hunters is in the size of their hunting bands which is related directly to the requirements of the particular technique. A distinct process of fission and fusion related to the economic size of the band is observable among the Epulu Pygmies. A successful net hunt cannot be carried out with fewer than seven nets, with an optimum of about 15. When a net-hunting band falls below 10 families (i.e., 10 married men with nets), hunting becomes difficult, because there is little allowance for sickness, or for the men and women required to

[P. 243-D]

[P.244-A]

184 224 621 182 remain in camp to guard it and perform other duties. When the band falls below seven families, it can no longer exist. Similarly, when it rises above a certain number (between 20 and 30) it becomes too unwieldy to function as a single hunting unit and must, of necessity, split. Under these circumstances a compromise is reached, and very conveniently so, by the hunting from a forest camp by one section of the band, while the other section lives a more or less parasitical life near the village.

184 621 The composition of the bands of archers and net hunters seems to be similar, though Putnam lays more emphasis on the presence of visiting families. The archers live in considerably smaller bands, some interconnected through kinship ties and also allegedly through common allegiance to a villager lineage. In the larger net-hunting band there may very likely be no single villager attachment.

182 With regard to material culture and technology,
184 there is far more uniformity than divergence.
The technology of the net hunters demonstrates
a greater adaptation to the forest
environment, and their material culture is consistent
with the fact that they are more truly
[482] nomadic than the archers. Heavy objects such
as the mortars and drums mentioned by Schebesta
could not be maintained by a nomadic
band unless it was always within easy reach of
the village.

ECONOMIC LIFE

224 In a comparison of the two major types of
184 hunt, according to which we classify the Mbuti
into archers and net hunters, three factors in
particular are worth noting:

1. The net hunt, of all the hunting methods
described (including the *begbe* beat of the archers),
produces both the surest and the largest
supply of meat. The inadequacy of archery
[411] among the Mbuti, owing partly to inaccuracy
[177] with their small bows and partly to the generally
[439] poor visibility, may account in part for
the greater economic dependence of the archer
bands on their villager neighbors.

2. The net hunt is essentially a cooperative
224 activity, requiring the participation of the band
476 as a whole, including women and children. It
621 reinforces the strength of the band as such; it
562 does not differentiate between the relationships
184 of the men and the women toward the forest;
and it establishes for each sex a basic and

[R 244-B]

mutually dependent and equally important role 224
in this, the major activity of the Mbuti. Archery, 476
on the other hand, may be conducted on a 621
familial basis or, as is described by Schebesta, 562
with the cooperation of two or three men. It is 184
not essentially cooperative, and it does not include women and children, so placing the sexes in different relationships with the forest. In so far as hunting is the "superior" economic activity (though economically perhaps less important than gathering), it emphasizes the disparity of status between the sexes.

3. The net hunt, demanding close cooperation 184
and lack of specialization, is associated 554
with a more egalitarian political system than 561
that of the archers. While Schebesta described 224
an embryonic chieftainship, with powerful lineage 621
heads, Putnam vigorously denies the existence [114]
of even a council of elders. Further, according to Putnam, whereas an old man is treated with respect, he is so only if age is accompanied by wisdom. A great hunter is respected regardless of his age. An unmarried boy of 16 who kills a buffalo with a spear is entitled to have a net of his own and to take full part in the meetings of the men's religious association. Such leadership as exists among the net hunters is charismatic, with little emphasis on lineage—a position quite the reverse of that described by Schebesta for the archers.

A fourth factor might be added: While the 184
net hunt quickly scares animals away from the 182
area around the hunting camp, necessitating 224 •
frequent changes of site, the archery technique 361
neither depletes the game so quickly nor
frightens it away. An archer band can therefore
remain confined to a smaller area, near the
village, while the net hunters sometimes must
wander several days' march away from their
patrons. The more nomadic group also has [262]
constantly fresh supplies of vegetable growth at
its disposal, thus decreasing the need, which is
apparently felt by the more settled archers, for
plantation products.

Thus at once we can see the possible eco- 184
nomic, social, and political implications of the 182
difference in hunting technique and how these 121
implications follow in fact. 224

Gathering occupies a similar position of 222
social and economic importance in each type of 184
community. It is regarded primarily as the 462
work of women, though, wherever it calls for
tree climbing, it is undertaken by men. Among

[P 244-D]

554 The fact that men go through the not inconsid-
881 erable beating inflicted on them by the women
in order to gain admission, without ever taking
advantage of the young maidens then available
to them, is another indication of the function of
the *elima* in determining male status.

555 Male status depends primarily on skill in the
224 hunt; this may be deliberately acquired by in-
dividual exploits such as elephant hunting.
[439] Among certain bands elephant hunting is a
specialized profession, the ivory being used for
trade. Among the Epulu net hunters it is not so.
It is an exceptional occurrence and, as described by Anne Putnam (1954, 143 ff.), may be
undertaken without any thought for the food or
ivory, at times when the band has no need of
extra meat or of trade with the villagers. On
this occasion the Pygmy hunter admits that he
was frightened. He describes how he killed the
elephant simply because he felt compelled to do
[825] so. This compulsion may have arisen in part by
virtue of his reputation as a great hunter, and
in part from constant opposition between the
human world and the animal world, and the
constant effort of the Mbuti to assert the superiority of the former.

224 This latter aspect was also witnessed in the
825 ceremony described by Anne Putnam (1954,
[P. 247-B]

[P. 247-C]

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296 ff.), following the killing of a leopard. The dead leopard is tied to a stake, which is surrounded by the men, armed with liana whips and plaited hide thongs. The hunters involved in the killing of the leopard perform a dance, in the course of which they have to fight their way through to the stake and cut down the carcass of the leopard they have already killed once. In the instance cited the most prominent of the three chief actors had been wounded by the leopard but insisted on taking part though his fellows said that none would call him a coward if he did not. The other two men protected him from the attackers and guarded him as he swung his spear and cut the leopard down. The cutting down is acclaimed by all with a shout of satisfaction. Unfortunately the information does not carry essential details such as which of the men or how many of the band held the leopard as their totem, or as to what relationship, kinship or otherwise, existed between participants in the dance. Possibly the ceremony is propitiatory, but from the information on totemism among these particular Mbuti it seems unlikely. It rather appears as a formal opposition between the human and the animal worlds.

Little can be said of inter-band relationships 628
as there are so few data. Neither type of band 476
has any need to cooperate with neighboring 224 •
bands for the hunt but may do so on rare occa- 184
sions when there is a particular profusion of game. Among the archers joint hunting would be necessary in order to make use of the *begbe* beating technique. Among net hunters two or more bands might combine either when the individual bands fall below economic level or when a particular profusion of game requires more nets than are possessed by the single band. With the net hunters such association could become permanent, whereas with the archers it would never be necessary as the band is of such small optimum size.

The difference between the archers and the 184
net hunters in their relationship with the vil- 182
lager tribes, as described by Schebesta and Put- 224
nam, is one of both degree and kind. We have 439
seen that with their less efficient hunting technique the archers must rely more on vegetable products, and how, with the women's sphere limited to gathering, the women have more time and opportunity for gathering from the villager plantations. The less exhaustive and less noisy

[p 247-D]

[P 248-A]

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439 nature of the hunt also makes possible a more permanent settlement near the village. The trade relationship among the archers, then, assumes greater importance and is more formalized. Schebesta further understands it as being an inter-lineage relationship. Putnam, while acknowledging its importance also for the net hunters, says that it is interfamilial and can be broken by either side. The net-hunting technique makes more game available for trade, so there is less demand by villagers upon the net hunters than by the Lese of the archers. The necessity of a more strictly nomadic life also militates against permanent and continuous attachment between the net-hunting Mbuti and any one villager "master."

128 Of the legal system no more can be added to the section dealing with authority and leadership. There are simply not enough data even for comparison of the concepts of property and ownership between the two groups.

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Zaire FO1

Magical Practice

P 177 789 It might be observed that the Pygmies have adopted a number of villager magical practices; certainly some individuals give the appearance of having done so. But we cannot accept this as significant, nor can we relate these practices to other practices in Pygmy society until we understand, for instance, the significance of the old Pygmy who blew his magic whistle vigorously at the sky to prevent rain and who, when it poured, simply shrugged his shoulders and
P [829] retreated to the shelter of his hut. This incident may seem trivial, but there are many such incidents that indicate a lack of faith in the efficacy of such magical practices as the Pygmies attempt.

P 224 177 789 Also to be considered, and more important because it brings villager and Pygmy together more directly, is the reported resort to villager witch doctors to improve the hunting. Sche-
Z 789 177 563 [791] [P 250-B]

[P.250-C]

besta (1950, 80) mentions ceremonies performed P 224
by the archers themselves to "open" the forest. 177
There is no evidence of such a practice among 789
the net hunters, but they may call in a villager 2
for the purpose. But here we should consider 789
Pygmy acumen. If he has not been supplying 533
the villagers with meat for some time, yet has 177
been drawing supplies of bananas, he gives as P
his excuse the fact that the hunting has been [439]
poor. Such an excuse is safe enough, as the villagers never accompany the Pygmies on a hunt. Even if the villagers wait for them in the hunting camp, the Pygmies see to it that they never know how much game was actually caught. But the Pygmy may seek to reinforce his position by inviting the villager to improve the hunting. In doing this, he is a step ahead of the villager, who will himself insist on performing the ceremony if hunting is persistently bad. As far as P
one can judge from casual conversation among 224
themselves after such a ceremony, the Mbuti 789
have little faith in it. Further, they have their 533
own method of dealing with any critical situation. If the hunting is really bad they convoke the *molimo*. In effect, they "sing" the hunting well: there is no supplication and no prayer. The song may or may not be accompanied by a *dance re-enacting a successful hunt*, but, even if so, the stress is laid on the song and the participation of all the hunters.

to their previous status in the Pygmy camp and 575
even returned to the care and authority of their 881
mothers. None of these boys was allowed to 882
take part in subsequent meetings of the *molimo*. 883
The reason—they were not "hunters," they had 224
not killed "real animals" (i.e., animals large
enough ~~to be~~ worth distributing among the [575]
band, as opposed to the small animals caught by children and that are not worth dividing except within the family). To kill "real animals," usually antelope, a boy must be old enough to be allowed to wander away from his father during the hunt and to try his luck at either end of the semicircle of nets, where animals might escape and be shot with bow and arrow, speared, or caught with the hands.

Entry into the *molimo* therefore depends on 575
a combination of physical growth and prowess. 885
Boys seem to qualify by the time they reach the age of 14. Once a member, one is a full member; there is no hierarchy within the *molimo*; like the *elima* it is a religious association without priests. There is no ritual to be performed; all members play the same part in the meetings of the association with the exception of one who is delegated to play the *molimo* horn. The choice invariably falls on the best performer present, without regard for age or other qualifications.

With the *elima* it is similar. All adult women 575
are members, and participation is compulsory 796
in one's own camp or when visiting another. [885]
Communication with the forest God is again
established by means of songs, special and sacred [533]
to the *elima*. However, the men take part. [776]
The *elima* meets on occasions of major concern [778]
to womenfolk—birth, arrival at the age of puberty, marriage, and death. Thus at birth and death, both the *elima* and the *molimo* are concerned. (As mentioned, however, the occasion of birth is little marked by ritual of any kind.) Both associations meet in the forest camp but out of sight of each other. The *elima* meets in the large *elima* hut or in a cluster of neighboring
huts. Young children may be present. The exception, [858]
when the men take part in the meeting of the *elima*, is during the initiation of a girl.

In the survey we give an account of *elima* 881
initiation (p. 216). If the *nkumbi* is not the initiation 885
into the *molimo*, we must look elsewhere 224 •
for this. When a boy kills his first "real animal," 575
he is immediately acclaimed as a hunter, and

[p. 251-D]

881 hunters are *de facto* members of the *molimo*. I
885 have never witnessed nor been told of any formal
224 rite introducing the new hunter to the association,
575 and I do not believe that there is any
such rite. The boy already knows all the *molimo* songs and has probably been allowed, for the past year or so, to sit with the men during the informal meetings of the association. The only
881 act that might be regarded as a formal token of
885 initiation is the cutting of three sets of three
304 vertical slits in the flesh of the forehead, each
575 side of the eyes or above the eyebrows, and
above the nose. The flesh is gouged out with an arrow, and a black paste is rubbed in. The wound heals smoothly, leaving black streaks under the skin. The operation is performed without any formality by one of the "great hunters," that is, one who has killed buffalo or elephant. The initiate, if he can be called such, becomes the immediate object of interest to the womenfolk, as he is now considered marriageable. But the marks themselves do not qualify him for membership in the *molimo*, nor does their absence debar him from taking part. All that seems to be required is public recognition of his having killed "real game," marked by the kind of feasting and dancing that always follows a particularly successful hunt.

[NET HUNTERS]

PLATE 34[1]

Net Hunting, Epulu District, Central Ituri

224
484
a. Net hunters on the trail. The Mbuti are naturally well camouflaged and can conceal themselves with ease against the foliage. Although net hunting demands cooperation between men, women, and children, the men and youths generally set off by themselves. Spears are carried for protection and for killing large game that might fall into the nets.

b. Net hunters setting up the net. Youths help their older brothers, or sons their fathers, as the net is stretched through the undergrowth for up to 300 feet, joined end to end with the nets of other hunters to form a vast semicircle into which the women and children drive the game.

[1] /Plate 34 appears on page 301--Analyst/

[P. 300]

1: Turnbull E-4.5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

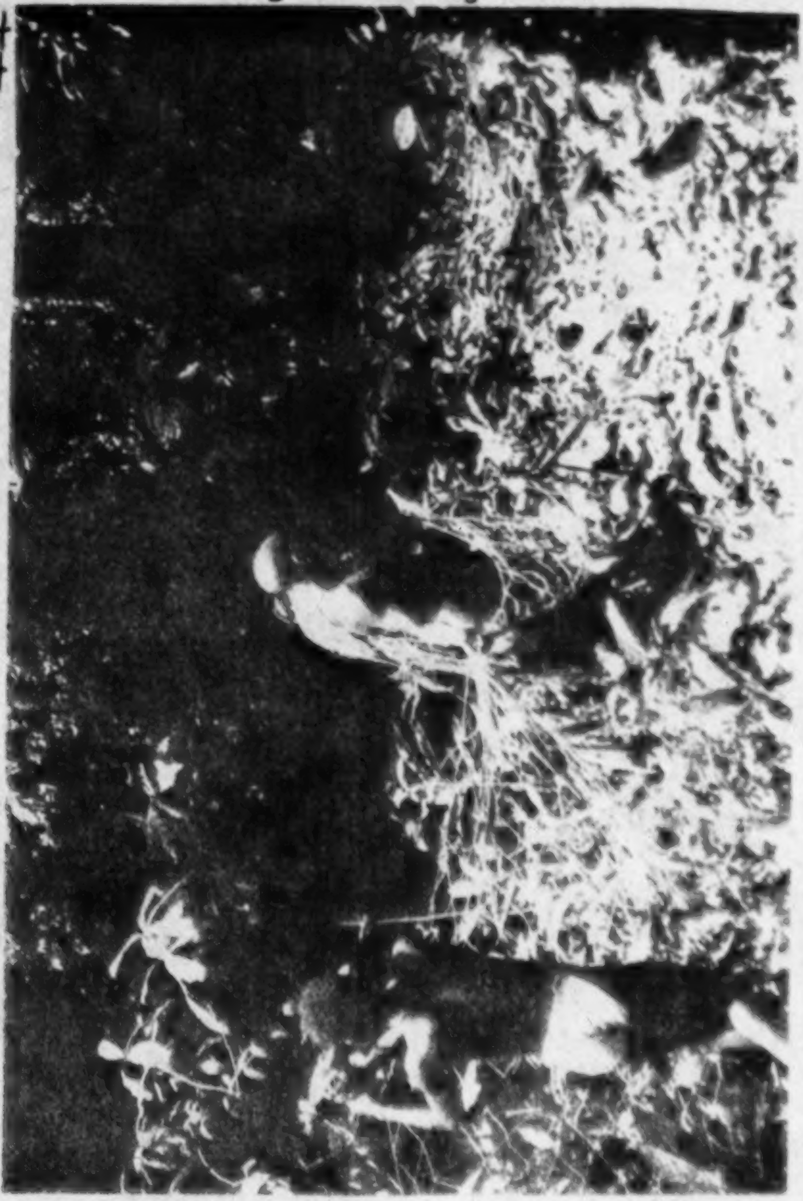
224
484
137

/Plate 34-A/
/Caption appears on p. 300/
[P 301-A]

1: Turnbull E-4.5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

• 224
484
291



/Plate 34-B/

/Caption appears on p. 300/

[P.301-B]

1: Turnbull E-4. 5 (1951-1955) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4 Mbuti

[NET HUNTERS]

PLATE 35 ^1

Net Hunting, Epulu District, Central Ituri

224 a. The kill. When an animal falls into the nets, nearby men and youths run to catch it before it tears itself loose or damages the net. As the men disentangle the trapped animal, a youth stands by with a spear ready to make the kill. Even the smallest antelope, when trapped, can be dangerous. Although the hunt is vital to the food economy of the Mbuti, they take no pleasure in the kill. It is considered a crime to hunt or kill more game than is essential for sustenance.

411 [199] b. The main weapon of the archers, the bow and arrow, is for the net hunters only an incidental means of obtaining food. The net hunters prefer their own poisoned arrows with a fire-hardened tip (as used here) rather than the unpoisoned metal tips supplied and used by the villagers.

1, /Plate 35 appears on page 303--Analyst/

[P. 302]

[NET HUNTERS]

• 224
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/Plate 35-A/
/Caption appears on p. 302/

[P. 303-A]

the languages referred to, although spoken by the Mbuti, were evidently [121]
of non-Mbuti origin. Consequently another objective of the [114]
present study, based on further field work, is to begin to look for [197]
valid structural differences that do exist, following up the contention [224]
(*ibid.*) that one would expect to find such differences between the Mbuti who hunt by net and those who hunt with bow and arrow. The boundaries of the net-hunters and archers incidentally correspond, very roughly, to the linguistic boundaries drawn by Schebesta [197]
between the Sua- and Efe-speaking Mbuti: the Aka, to the north, although somewhat divided amongst themselves, offer a third category, some of them using the spear as their prime weapon.

To all these ends it was decided to make a further field trip in which one hunting band would be studied intensively throughout a calendar year, and in which as much comparative material as time and field conditions permitted would be gathered from other hunting bands. It was decided in advance, in the light of previous personal experience, that the sacrifice of a whole year to the study of one small band was essential, even though it would mean that any final conclusions about the general nature of Mbuti society would have to be delayed until a number of other such studies had been made. A band of either archers or net-hunters is a highly mobile, volatile entity, demanding of the field worker the utmost persistence in both physical and intellectual pursuit. It was quite obvious, also from previous experience, that the band not only constantly changes location, but it also constantly changes in composition. The significance of these fluctuations would only be discovered, it was felt, by following them right through their course in one given hunting territory before attempting any comparative studies among other bands. Above all it was essential in one band to find out what the significant social groupings were, and what principles enabled them to maintain any kind of consistency and continuity in the face of perpetual change. How was the band divided, along exactly what lines did the characteristic splits occur, what forces operated to hold the band together and to divide it? The scope of the one-band study was aimed at answering such questions and others that concern band relationships with local villages of cultivators. It was hoped to arrive at an understanding of the true nature of the over-all Mbuti/Villager relationship in this area, following up on the suggestion made earlier (Turnbull, 1956, 363–64) that this relationship was not one of master/servant, still less of slavery, and probably not even of symbiosis.

ETHNOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND

121 There are two major difficulties facing any discussion of the Mbuti. One is the fact that while they are true hunters and gatherers, they are nonetheless associated in some way, and apparently closely so, with the surrounding forest cultivators. The inseparability of the two peoples makes it especially difficult to know where to begin, as the Mbuti are one thing in one context and a quite different thing in another context.

114 The other difficulty lies in the fact that previous sources have not
given us a clear idea of the structure of either group, Mbuti or villag-
ers, and have completely misled us as to the nature of the relationship
114 between the two. I have dealt somewhat with the latter difficulty
121 elsewhere (Turnbull, 1956) and propose to deal with the former
difficulty by giving a brief sketch of the nature of Mbuti society that
will adequately provide a basis for a preliminary investigation of the
actual nature of the relationship between the Mbuti and the villag-
ers. Only then can we safely attempt to understand the nature of
Mbuti social structure, even in their forest society, as divorced as it
may seem to be from the village context.

161 It is impossible to give an accurate estimate of the population of the Mbuti of the Ituri Forest, as there has been nothing approaching an efficient census. Owing to the mobility of the individual hunting bands, and the lack of co-operation offered by villagers whenever queries are made about the number of Mbuti they "own," we must regard with suspicion any figures based on a count of bands attached to villages and an average band population. From my own experience, and from discussion with missionaries and administrators who have attempted counts, one way or another, I would hazard a guess at somewhere around 40,000, with no evidence to show that the population is increasing, but certainly none to show that it is decreasing.

619 The total population may be divided, as we have seen, into groups
[224] that emphasize one hunting technology or another, the two main groups being the archers and the net-hunters. The spear-hunters also use bows and arrows for defense as well as for occasional individual hunting. None of these groups can be said to have any political identity, however, any more than can the Mbuti totality, except in opposition to the villagers.

521 The only effective political unit is the band, which we have defined

621 falls unhappily apart however, and it looks indeed as if the Mbuti are
*177 in the process of adopting villager institutions wholesale, without adopting the system that would relate them.

[221] Further evidence in favor of this interesting half-truth of Mbuti dependence is plainly discernible in the adoption by the Mbuti of village ceremonials connected with *rites de passage*, in which they subject themselves completely to villager ritual authority. But again these adopted institutions seem to have little structural relationship to the Mbuti hunting life, divorced as it is from the village context. Once one grants that divorce, then one is left with an apparent vacuum, a lack of internal system that is almost anarchical. Yet there is no anarchy; law and order exist without the villager context as within, and without as in their villager institutions. In default of any clear exposition of internal system, however, it has been assumed by many that the actual situation is one of total Mbuti dependence upon the villagers.

222 The economy of the Mbuti is hunting and gathering, and they are
• 224 perfectly capable of independent subsistence. Hunger, in absence of village food supplies, is due only to laziness. The alleged economic
224 dependence of the Mbuti will be discussed in the next chapter. Here
476 it is only necessary to stress the possibility of their actual independence
*[177] of the village, and point to a dependence upon each other, best seen in the fact that all the hunting techniques involve some measure of co-operation between men, women and children. The net-hunt demands the greatest measure of co-operation; the little I was able to discover about spear-hunts indicates a preference for hunting parties of five or six men; and while archers can hunt successfully in threes, there are among the archers annual beat-hunts (*beghe*) which demand the same high degree of co-operation demanded by the net-hunt, involving the entire band. Some elementary principles of unity can be discerned, then, in these various hunting techniques, but they are not sufficient to fill the gap left by the absence of developed kinship or political systems.

621 In the hunting band, as we have seen, the population is somewhat mercurial and composite. Only when the band fragments into smaller units do we occasionally get a fragment that has some appearance of being a kin group. System still eludes us. Nor do the *sultani* and *capita*
[622] offer any effective replacement for the missing political system. No one individual is effectively a leader; issues are settled by common

doubt wholly dependent upon the villagers for all metal goods. So 439
also with pottery, there being absolutely no knowledge of pottery [325]
manufacture among the Mbuti. [323]

But it is significant that none of the authorities who cite the lack 439
of these foodstuffs and metallurgical and ceramic skills among the 177*
Mbuti as an example of their economic dependence also cite the absence, 114
among the Mbuti, of all knowledge of fire-making.[2] By the same 121
reasoning this should make them dependent on the villagers for 372
matches. The point is that mere lack does not constitute a necessary
structural dependence, unless the lack is vital. We have to ask ourselves
how *necessary* is this apparent economic dependence of the
Mbuti upon the villagers.

It will be shown in the section on "The Forest World" that there 439
is no question of any absolute dependence of the Mbuti upon the 433
villagers for food, in that context, except insofar as luxuries ultimately
tend to become necessities. It will be seen that in the forest their
technology is sufficient to keep them supplied with all their basic [325]
needs. It will also be seen that metal is not a necessary part of their [323]
technology, any more than is pottery, or knowledge of fire-making. [372]

In the village world, however, the Mbuti are completely dependent 224 •
upon the villagers. Hunting and gathering in the neighborhood of 433
any village are likely to be equally poor, and it would be difficult if not [177]*
impossible for an Mbuti band to keep itself supplied with forest foodstuffs [222]
from a village headquarters. It would involve a half day's march,
at least, to reach a suitable hunting area, and the physical effort alone
would be enough to discourage even the most ardent hunter. But even
more important is the fact that by living in the village the Mbuti
would be out of touch with the forest, and would have no way of
knowing the exact whereabouts of the game at any given time. Living
in a hunting camp with the forest all around them, the Mbuti know
only what is going on in their immediate vicinity. As the game moves

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[2] Some Mbuti have learned to use matches, when available, and a few know of the fire drill from contact with their village neighbors. There is absolutely no indigenous method of making fire, however, and it is a point of no small importance to their social life that each household maintains its own hearth. Embers from this hearth are carried, usually by the woman, wrapped in fire-resistant leaves, during the hunt or while on the trail. At each new camp site, the family hearths are kindled from embers of the old family hearths, preserving a distinct sense of continuity. Whenever a communal hearth is required, as for the *molimo*, communal participation is accentuated by the compulsory contribution of embers from each family hearth. Whereas matches are rarely used, becoming quickly damp and useless, even if available, they are *never* used for kindling family or communal hearths, but only for such relatively mundane purposes as lighting a pipe or cigarette.

• 224 out of that vicinity, however, they keep track of it, and they send out
433 scouts to help them decide the best location for their next hunting
camp.

439 Insofar as the Mbuti are dependent upon the villagers for village
262 foods, thus far are they dependent also for certain items of material
252 culture, in metal, pottery and wood. Even so, of the village foods
415 only rice and beans (neither of which can be considered as staples even
*177 among the villagers) demand pottery or metal cooking vessels. Trade
vessels of aluminum are rapidly replacing all pottery vessels. Manioc,
plantains, corn and peanuts can be roasted, the sweet banana and
peanut can be eaten raw, and manioc can also be eaten without cooking
if it is first soaked in cold water for several days.

439 However, in every Mbuti village camp each household will boast at
415 least one metal vessel, and there will be one or two wooden mortars
*177 and pestles for common usage. In addition, there is only the metal
439 knife blade which might be said to be necessary to the Mbuti in their
412 village life, for peeling, scraping and cutting the manioc root, and the
*177 metal ax blade needed for cutting the saplings used in the construction
of either village-type houses or forest-style huts. The technological
dependence of the Mbuti upon the villagers, in the village, is then
not great, and is directly contingent upon Mbuti dependence upon
village foods in the same context.

325 We shall see that in the forest context, as with food, there is no essential
dependence either on materials such as metal, or on skill in
224 working them. It has been argued that the Mbuti hunt is dependent
411 upon metal arrow-points, spear blades, and knife blades. It is not. We
shall see that the Mbuti frequently prefer to use the poisoned arrows
that have only a fire-hardened tip, for sound practical reasons; that
they use the spear primarily for defense rather than offense, and in
any case still retain knowledge of the fire-hardened point and the belief
that it is as effective as metal except, possibly, against buffalo and
elephant. Old Mbuti assert that fire-hardened spears are effective even
412 against the largest game. Slit bamboo and slit reeds offer adequate
cutting surfaces, though they dull quickly and are seldom used today;
they could, however, successfully replace the metal knife as far
as the forest life of the Mbuti is concerned. There are certain types of
[322] vine that have a highly abrasive surface and can be used for scraping
[324] *itaba* roots. Of all the village utensils, the two that the Mbuti would
miss the most would be the machete and the ax blade. The machete
is used for cutting the light *fito* saplings that form the framework for

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

C which only the villagers *need* a cure. There are a number of such
789 minor crises. Even if the action appears to be protective, it is still
C basically curative. For instance, theft is common in villages, and vil-
789 lagers have a number of magical cures for theft that prevent it by cur-
685 ing the situation that might give rise to this antisocial act. This may
seem like an academic quibble, justifying the inclusion of protective
magic under the definition of magic as curative activity, but it is more
P basic than that. If the Mbuti saw themselves in a future context they
157 might be interested in protection, but one of their characteristics is to
789 think in terms of the present. Theft is not a part of their behavior
685 toward each other; there is nothing they have that the villagers can
steal from them, so there is no immediate situation to be cured. But
the danger of poor hunting is more real.

P For the hunt the Mbuti themselves have divers cures, but mostly
• 224 of a sympathetic nature and, considering the importance of the hunt,
789 remarkably few. The villagers, on the other hand, have a great number
439 of cures to offer, and if convenient the Mbuti accept them. But once
*177 again the question is one of need. From his experience the hunter
C sees no need to concern himself with the future: it is rare that the
439 hunting is so poor that he goes hungry. It is rare indeed even that
789 there could not be a surplus to trade with the villagers. But lack of
meat for trade is always excused by a plea of bad hunting. In fact, the
Mbuti even go further and point to the fact that they have no elabo-
rate cures for bad hunting, so how can the villagers blame them for
P not bringing in meat? The villager then supplies the cures, and if
C these do not work he will even be told by the Mbuti that it must be
[754] witchcraft, and asked to call out a diviner. I know of three cases where
Mbuti have been trained by villagers to divine witchcraft and are be-
lieved, by villagers, to be highly effective. But once again there is no
question of dependence.

C Other situations that need curing and that may be cured by em-
789 pirical (i.e., "magical") means available to villagers alone include
821 poor weather, attack by lightning, attack by a witch, or by the spirits
[776] of the forest (*keti*). The cures consist of divers charms and fetish bun-
[755] dles, but they are considered as effective only by the villagers. The
[192] Mbuti recognize man's inability to control the weather, though they
P 789 have a small amount of very simple sympathetic weather magic; light-
821 ning strikes where it will, though again fires are covered by the Mbuti
776 during a storm in case the flames attract lightning. As for attack by a
765 witch, their attitude is somewhat ambivalent, but they do not place

P It is also possible to see Mbuti scrounging food from villagers
685 other than their own *kpara* and, when not successful, simply stealing
648 what they want. If they are caught they are scolded by their *kpara*
571 and that is generally all. If more fuss is made than that, all the Mbuti
121 C are likely to pack up and return to the forest within hours. But whatever
648 Mbuti may be seen engaged in whatever activity, they can be
571 seen only as individuals in relationship to a particular villager at that
particular moment, unrelated to other villagers and other Mbuti, unless
P they are included in the same activity. Only in the village camp
[361] of the Mbuti, usually at the edge of the plantation, do they form a
[621] society, but the interpersonal relationships observable even in a village
camp bear little resemblance to relationships in the more strictly
village context.

P The situation becomes more understandable in light of the expressed
829 Mbuti attitude to their own place in the village world. They
648 refer to the village as being a place for good hunting and good eating.
571 Hunting requires cunning, and particularly when dealing with a
"tricky" animal such as the villager, say the Mbuti. The word for
"trickery" means more than "clever," it has connotations of supernatural
power. So the Mbuti, when hunting in the village, use appropriate
P tactics, just as they do in the forest. Carrying wood and
[224] fetching water, building houses and pounding manioc, are all part
of those tactics, and may perhaps be likened to the net with which
the Mbuti trap the forest animals.

This Mbuti attitude to the relationship not only fits with the theory
that there is, in effect, no necessary economic interdependence,
but it also fits well with the suggestion of *apparent* structural incompatibility.
Mbuti talk of "eating" the villagers, and indeed the
villagers also talk, with some asperity, of being eaten. In Mbuti
thought, however, it is rather more literal than it may seem, for the
P villagers are not only referred to as animals, a common term of abuse,
[825] but they are considered as animals. And when one eats an animal one
merely consumes its substance, one does not thereby assume its form
or its pattern of behavior.

C Even supposing that there was a necessary economic interdependence,
439 the daily life of the village in no way reveals any sense of economic
648 urgency. Even in times of crisis, such as the cotton harvest,
121 powerful chiefs like Kachui may evidently find themselves deserted
by the Mbuti and forced to make out on their own. But if there were
a true economic dependence, then there would have to be a workable
economic system, with an associated system of social control; and

The abundance of game and vegetable food may be taken for
136 granted in any part of the forest, except possibly that small triangle
137 bounded by the three roads joining, the administrative centers of Mambasa, Irumu and Beni (Map 4), where the roads and the heavy concentration of foreign settlements, coffee plantations, hospitals, missions and mines have considerably affected the natural resources
311 and the natural patterns of game migration. There is no economic
166 need for trespass. Each territory is large enough for a band to roam
131 within it for year after year, never twice occupying the same camp
624 site, never exhausting its supplies of food or the materials needed for
621 shelter and clothing and the rest of the minimal Mbuti material culture.

628 All of which is not to say that boundaries are not crossed. They
724 are crossed, either when hunters commit trespass or when individuals
685 or families visit relatives in other bands. In the case of trespass, a
131 band of hunters may pursue game across a boundary stream, particularly if it is one of the more prized animals. An elephant would almost certainly be pursued, but it is understood that the band whose territory is so violated has certain rights to the spoils. Such trespass is considered excusable under these conditions. Generally, however, a band will never hunt near its boundaries if the neighboring band is in the vicinity of the same boundary.

628 The only cases of uncondoned trespass known to me are rare in-
222 stances when a band has found itself short of honey during the brief
685 honey season, and has invaded its neighbor's territory and actually
131 set up temporary camp there. This was considered inexcusable only because permission was not first sought.

628 If trespass is rare, boundaries are being crossed frequently for the
166 approved purpose of visiting relatives, consanguineal or affinal. In-
574 dividuals or whole families sometimes wander in this way until they
131 are several territories distant from their home territory. By "home territory" an Mbuti would mean the territory in which he most habitually hunted, and in which he has established certain claims to honey or bark trees. He would be unlikely to attempt to define it in terms of clan or lineage concepts; that is, he would refer to the territory rather than to the band. This habitual exchange of visits is, in fact, the major social communication that exists between one band and another, but it also has a secondary economic significance: a band that becomes too large for convenience may split, a part of it going to join another band that has perhaps fallen below the optimum economic size. The major purpose of interband visits is the extension

[1] [see page 319 -- Analyst]

wife was, like Pangia and Betuli, a member of the lineage that normally 361
associated with Cephu. Three days later, however, two more 621
female kinsmen of Toko arrived, also members of the rival Puemi/ 613
chimpanzee lineage, and they too joined Cephu's camp. The two 598
camps had effectively divided two sets of brothers, indicating much more sharply than the more subtle divisions within the main camp the extent to which lineage values may be counteracted and even superseded by other values.

In the following chapters we shall see more of the kind of petty disputes and hostilities that bring about this shifting of alliances, and the gradual fragmentation of a camp into distinct sections. It should suffice for the moment to have this one example of a single camp in a state of flux from the first day of its existence, and to know that this flux, whatever its cause, cut directly across unilineal descent groupings as conceived by the villagers.

Apart from the personal, unpredictable causes for constantly changing 621
alliances, there are other factors that can always be relied on to 574
introduce change into a camp, cutting across unilineal descent lines and causing further change in its balance. Visits from affines and to affines are one such factor; such visits sometimes become permanent, as can be seen in the composition of this particular band. Visits to neighboring villages may also affect the balance of its internal sections as, apart from the major co-operative activity of the hunt, there are other activities calling for co-operation of only a few people, and such smaller co-operative units almost invariably fall within the sections
that divide the camp. If a section becomes depleted because [476]
some of its members have gone visiting, it may be forced to co-operate with another section in activities such as gathering, collecting firewood and building materials, repairing nets, and so forth.

Not having seen an archer *begbe* beat-hunt camp, which approximates 621
in size, as in hunting technique, to the normal net-hunting 184
camp, I can supply no material for comparison of the process of fragmentation. 224•
The smaller, and for the archers more normal, camps are [114]
similar, however, and exhibit the same tendencies but with less emphasis. This may possibly be related to the fact that the smaller camps involve food-getting technologies that do not call for large-scale co-operation, but which demand the co-operation of two or three adults. Thus such divisions as may appear on the formation of such a camp tend to be rather more stable, and with the archers they are certainly

621 [224] [184] more related to the demands of economic co-operation than to any other factor.

But however stable a camp may become after the initial fragmentation, that fragmentation is but an indication of the more systematic processes of fission or fusion that come into play each time a camp moves. Plan 11[1] gives the layouts of each camp built by the Epulu band for a period of over a year, and the cyclic process is quite clear. For the net-hunters a large camp is normally advantageous, although beyond a certain point a net-hunt becomes unwieldy. But once a
[621] year comes the honey season, when hunting is of secondary impor-
[622] tance, and it is more advantageous for the band to be split into two or more sub-camps, thus tapping the territory's honey resources more effectively.

361 The series of camp plans shown indicates how the process of frag-
621 mentation as observed at work within *apa* Lelo is continued and
578 sharpened with the building of each new camp. Sites are even chosen because they afford greater privacy between the various sections, thus minimizing any serious disputes that are in progress. Some interpersonal hostilities will persist, however, and it is these and not lineal relationships that are reflected in the final fission, when the camp divides into a number of independent camps, or sub-bands, each going its own way. If the dispute is serious, one or another sub-band may go off to another territory, and seek to join up with that band. This was in fact Cephu's situation. During the honey season he left the Epulu territory and went back to his home territory to claim his honey trees. But that territory was occupied by a large band where Cephu's hunting chances were no greater than those of anyone else, and this was not to Cephu's liking. Cephu tried to carve out a territory for himself, between his own band and the Epulu band, but he was always being forced by sheer economics to join the one or the other.
[224] He could never induce enough men to camp with him to set up an effective independent net-hunt. For this a minimum of seven is generally required, and Cephu could seldom raise above six.

So the monthly change of camp is an opportunity not only for a diplomatic rearrangement of the layout, minimizing latent hostilities, but it is also an opportunity for improving the economic strength of the band by either adding to it or subtracting from it.

[221] The honey season itself is a last opportunity for old hostilities to fade away, and the complete separation of the sub-bands into camps many miles apart generally resolves most sources of friction. If dis-

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[1] [see pages 398 A-D -- Analyst]

agreement persists, however, then when the honey season ends and 361 621
the band is forced to resume net-hunting, and therefore has to rejoin 598
its forces in the common interest of an effective net-hunt, one or 221
another of the dissident segments will join up with another band in
another territory. It is said that it would not stay within the same
territory and hunt there, even if it were numerically strong enough.

Thus we can say that the composition of each camp is ad hoc, responding 621
to the needs of the moment rather than to any preconceived 121
plan, or to any notion derived from tradition. The lines of
division are never the same; the reasons for division are nearly always
personal. The system does not lie here, then, but rather in the economy,
which favors a unified camp for the major part of the year and
a divided camp for a brief two months or so. The complete break and [221]
freedom of separate association allowed by the honey season (which
is also a particularly bountiful season as far as vegetable foods are
concerned) is, in fact, what makes practical this otherwise apparently
unsystematic flux. That the flux has a function we shall shortly see.

For the archers much the same process pertains. The economics 621
work in reverse, however, for the *begbe* season is made an occasion for 224
the entire band to gather together. Normally, throughout the year, 221
the band is divided into three or four small sub-bands, all within their 184
common territory. Tracking and ambushing and using the bow and
arrow do not call for co-operation among more than two or three
or four men. A large camp of, say, twenty-four men would then have
at least six hunting parties setting off each day, and this would necessarily
mean frequent changes of camp. A small camp, however, sending
out two parties in opposite directions, can remain in the same
area for a long time without scaring the game away. There are few
occasions for members of different sub-bands to get together during
this time, except for casual visits. Once a year the whole band unites,
however, for the communal beat-hunt known as *begbe*. The mechanism
for convening the whole band and the exact time of year this
takes place, if there is a special time of year, are not clear either in the
literature or from my own records. Each archer band I visited, however,
assured me that it was near the honey season, and I suspect before
the honey season.

However, the essential remains the same. Among the archers, as 621
among the net-hunters, there is a process of fission followed by fusion 121
—or perhaps, in the case of the archers, it would be better to say there [184]
is a process of fusion followed by fission. We now have to try and

621 discover, at least for the net-hunters of Epulu, what is the structure
121 of this process.

We have seen that the band is plainly a nonlineal entity; it cannot
621 even truly be called bilateral, as descent is not counted on either side
613 for practical purposes.* Lineages are known, and these are always pat-
[811] rilineages, but they seem to have little economic, political or even religious significance. The only time the lineage is mentioned with any frequency is when discussing the merits or otherwise of a proposed marriage, and then it is not the lineage name that is usually mentioned, but rather the names and relationships of the individuals concerned, their parents and grandparents. It can be seen from the plans, in any case, that the process of fission and fusion under discussion is not one that supports the integrity of unilineal descent groups, but rather one that cuts across such groups.

621 Nor can the nonlineal nature of the band or the flux of band com-
613 position be attributed solely to the ecology. The situation is com-
184 parable between the archers and the net-hunters, and yet each of these
[224] groups practices a different hunting technique, and the process of
fission and fusion takes an opposite direction. Either the archers or
[174] the net-hunters could, in fact, operate perfectly efficiently without all
the internal movement that we have seen, and they may very well
once have operated as patrilineal bands. While in no way supporting
621 those who suggest that band composition is due to local ecology,
613 it is undeniable that there is an interest in lineage, evident in the
174 attempt to balance lineages and prevent lineage dominance. Further, the camp plans indicate a general tendency toward lineage solidarity, particularly in times of crisis. For instance, with reference to Plans 9 and 10, the normally unsystematic camp plan that pertained (9) was abruptly altered and became divided along strict lineage lines when one of the sub-band members, Cephu himself, committed the unforgivable crime of placing his net in front of others during the
hunt. The only significant relationship of the flux to forest life is
[182] that it enables the band to respond to changes in environmental
621 conditions by altering its size. It must also be admitted that it is

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* Some misunderstanding may arise owing to different usages of descent-system terminology. Some schools of thought consider "bilateral" as synonymous with "cognatic," and hold that the terms include all affines and do not imply any differences in the method of tracing descent. To such an extent, perhaps the Mbuti band may be termed bilateral or cognatic, but to me, and I believe to others, both terms imply one kind of descent system or another, placing an emphasis on lineage that is not characteristic of the Mbuti band and therefore to be eschewed.

P
important, for both net-hunters and archers, that a hunter should 621
know well the habits of those who are near him on the hunt. Insofar [768]
as children learn to hunt mostly but by no means entirely from their [224] •
fathers, it is obvious that brothers are likely to be most familiar with
each other's hunting techniques, and will thus make the best hunting P
partners. But against this work many other practices, such as communal [857]
hunting games for all children, regardless of relationship, and [597]
the frequency of adoption, and of assimilation of adult strangers into [609]
the band. [563]

If we cannot find any explanation for the flux and instability that C
seem characteristic of the band in terms of kinship or economy, or 563
indeed in terms of any aspect of forest life, both become immediately 613
meaningful in considering the relationship between the band and 648
the village. Without going into this in detail at the moment, it must P 621
already be evident that the system, or lack of it, must be unhappily 613
confusing for the patrilineal patrilocal villagers, who claim both 166
lineal and territorial rights over Mbuti bands. For as we have seen, 177*
a band does not maintain any kind of unilineal integrity even within
a single camp, let alone from one camp to the next. And owing to the
wider flux, caused by the constant process of fission and fusion, the
band has merely territorial reference and cannot be said to apply to
specific individuals or lineages. A lineage such as Cephu's may be in
the Epulu territory one month and in Ebiani the next. So with every
lineage, as with every individual, there is an infinity of territories to
which he may move if it pleases him, and the system, such as it is,
encourages such movement to the point that no villager can ever
be sure of what Mbuti lineages are hunting in "his" territory. Let us
leave it for the moment, then, that at least one possible structural
result of the combination of the nonlineal nature of the band and its
tendency to flux is the counteraction of the village system, rendering
the villagers' lineal and territorial claims impractical of assertion.

THE FAMILY

It would of course, be ridiculous to deny that there is any system P 181
of kinship, but it is certain that the kinship system does not have 611
the same importance as a focal point of social control as it may in
other African societies. To my mind this is undeniably linked to the P
ad hoc nature of the society, with its almost complete lack of concern [222]
for the past, as for the future. This is something we shall discover in

are contradicted every day without necessarily causing any mention, 62 193
but in the event of anything more serious happening later, the earlier
incidents will be recalled and made into an issue that successfully
embroils, ultimately, the entire camp.

But more curious than this slight emphasis on normal, or mildly 621
abnormal and trivial patterns is the lack of emphasis at times where 183
one would have thought the occasion to be of major concern to the
band. Birth and marriage, for instance, provoke little comment, and
concern primarily the nuclear families and not the band. The relationship
between these particular attitudes and the nonlineal and
fluid composition of the band is plain. The constant movement of [166]
families from one band to another, alone, opens up different and important
avenues for recruitment that has the advantage of being
selective.

With this in mind, let us look first at the daily life of the Mbuti, 512
briefly, for it is of little structural significance, then at the life cycle.

Among both net-hunters and archers five days out of seven are likely 512
to include some hunting. Even though it would be possible for the 224
Mbuti to kill a surplus of game and dry the meat and store it for their
own future use, as indeed they do for the benefit of the villagers, such
measures are no more to their taste than to their advantage. On a
hunting day the family rises at dawn, the mother and her older [462]
daughters who are at the age of puberty go to the stream to wash [515]
themselves and bring back water for drinking and cooking. The menfolk [312]
go to a different part of the stream, and generally slightly later.
The older men might be excessively lazy and use the water brought [157]
back for drinking as bath water.

While the women cook the light morning meal and set food aside [252]
for taking with them on the hunt, the men shake out and inspect [264]
their nets, bows and arrows, their sons helping them or simply looking
on. If the forest is dry, the hunt may start leaving within an hour of
dawn, otherwise it may not leave until midday. Usually it sets off
about two hours after sunrise and may return anytime between midday
and dusk. There is no particular order for leaving the camp, but [372]
the youths usually go ahead, and not far away they light a fire at [782]
the base of a small tree, as an invocation to the forest for a good hunt.
Men and women alike stop by the fire on their way, but with no ceremony.
It does serve, however, as a place for a more cordial exchange [576]
of greetings than generally takes place in the still sleepy camp.

Back in the camp some old grandparents, or maybe only a handful [561]

512 of youths, will be left in charge of the camp and of any children that
224 elect to stay behind. Any child old enough to make the decision does
561 so himself. If his parents do not want to be bothered with him he
[855] has a wide range of classificatory mothers and fathers to call on, or if
he is old enough he will simply join his own age group and set off
[462] with them. Girls always go with the women; boys go with their fathers,
youths may go with their fathers or on their own. If a father has
a particularly long net he may welcome an extra spear or bow and
arrow nearby, and his adolescent sons serve in this capacity.

224 The hunt is described more fully in Chapter Ten. Here it is only
561 necessary to point out that among the net-hunters, where a net is
496 owned by married men or by extremely rare, gifted bachelor hunters
422 (youths), the hunt effectively divides itself into nuclear family groups
[594] but not into nuclear families, for each family, during the hunt, is itself
divided by age and sex. The family-owned nets stretch out in a
long semicircle, end to end, and the women act as beaters, forming a
corresponding semicircle opposite. But each net is utterly dependent
on the others, as is each beater, and it is the co-operative aspect of the
age group that is emphasized, rather than the distinctness of each
family. The division of spoils similarly stresses band rather than family
values, and the hunting songs and dances that take place after,
and sometimes before, the hunt further illustrate that the hunt is
considered an affair of the band as a whole.

224 When the hunt returns to camp there is immediate excitement as
183 those who stayed behind crowd around for tales of all that happened,
and maybe for a few tidbits of raw meat. In the confusion, men and
women alike, but particularly women, may be seen furtively concealing
some of their spoils under the leaves of their roofs, or in empty
pots nearby. For although there will have been some sharing on the
scene, there is always more back in the camp, and family loyalty is
not that subject to band loyalty that there is no cheating.

224 The food is prepared and cooked right away, and while this is being
535 done a hunting dance may take place, in which men and women
[252] and children all take part. This dance is frequently imitative of hunting
activities, with older people taking the part of the animals hunted.
224 Any unusual event of the day's hunt may be reenacted, and this is
535 also an occasion where the sanction of ridicule may be applied to any
626 hunter, male or female, who is considered to have been unsatisfactory.
It is not uncommon for a husband to lead a dance ridiculing a
wife who, through her laziness as a beater, spoiled his chances.

Women are equally quick to ridicule the menfolk when there is justification. 536 524 626

This is also a time favored by youths for slipping off into the forest with their girl friends for some not very quiet lovemaking. Although lovemaking is not performed openly, no great attempt is made to conceal it. The general feeling is that if surprised in the act, one simply says hello (*keribu*) politely and expects the intruder to continue on his way. Fathers, and mothers too, refer to the nuisance of a flirtatious son or daughter whom they might surprise in this way. The parent pretends to see nothing in such a case, and the youths claim, with more bravado than truth perhaps, not to be unduly disturbed unless they are making love to a relative. 833 836

Lovemaking generally takes place in the forest, though there is no fixed rule. It is thought somewhat exciting to make love in a hut, but not very healthy. There are preferences that individuals have for making love near a stream, or in a splash of sunlight, or in the dark depths of the forest. It is evidently a purely aesthetic consideration, and I have heard a number of youths who stated that the best time was while hunting. But moonlight evidently attracts a great number, and I have met several who talk, with great poetry, of the joys of masturbation when alone in the moonlight. On three rare occasions I have seen different individuals dancing, by themselves, in the moonlight and in the forest, away from the camp. The intimacy between the individual and the forest—one might almost say the act of making love to the forest—was expressed by one Mbuti who said, when I questioned him as to why he was dancing alone, that he was dancing with the forest, dancing with the moon. He then continued his dance with the utmost unconcern. 833 [839] [778] [535]

Not all lovemaking is quite so romantic, however, and when boys and girls are following a trail together, the procession may degenerate into a good-humored but undeniably lusty orgy. A boy may rip off a girl's outer bark cloth, if he can catch her, but he may never have intercourse with her without her permission. I know of no cases of rape, though boys often talk about their intentions of forcing reluctant maidens to their will. [832] 833 839

There are no formal bachelor huts, but many camps have informal variants. They are sometimes built for an older youth by his mother, or they may be taken over by adolescent boys or girls when the occupant leaves for some reason. In such huts, and even out in the open, around the campfire, it is usual to see not only youths but also 838 513 [342]

Another important imitative game is the hunt, in which a youth 857
or an elder pretends to be an antelope, sometimes with another pretending 224
to be a leopard. An old piece of a real hunting net is used, 868
and once again every action is gone through in almost exact imitation
of a real hunt. The antelope and the leopard move erratically
and unexpectedly to test the reactions of the children, and any child
who fails to react properly is laughed out of the game. The game continues
up to the ensnarement of the antelope in the net, then abruptly
ends and starts again. Different localities in or around the camp are
chosen for these mock hunts, to show the necessity for varying the
hunting technique. If any Mbuti are keeping chickens for the villagers [231]
(this is often done when a camp is near a village, as the villagers
have reasons for wishing to conceal their wealth), the chickens
often become the quarry.

Girls imitate their mothers by carrying a stick of rough wood as a 857
baby, perhaps in a tiny hide sling. Any girls large enough to carry a 868
real baby do so. They make miniature carrying baskets and go off with
other girls on gathering expeditions, always returning with some real
food either found in the forest or begged or stolen from the camp.
With their hunting and fishing activities as well as this gathering, the
children make a small contribution to the food economy even at this
age. They also learn not only to rely on their fellow age mates for
help in food-getting activities, but to share with them. The sharing
is largely left to the girl's decision.

The boys also learn to live and work with their fellows of different 857
families rather than with their nuclear family, and will often be far 591 571
more intimate with an unrelated boy of the same age than with a 561
brother much older or younger. They play many games that develop 857
quickness of eye and co-ordination of the body, such as the spear 868
practice, where one boy stands in the middle with a large forest fruit
at the end of a six foot vine which he swings around him, trailing
the fruit about twelve inches above the ground. The other boys stand
in a circle around him, their fire-hardened spears poised. As the fruit
passes them they throw their spears at it. If they miss they have to
dash in to retrieve their spears while the fruit continues to swing
around, and other spears continue to be thrown. If a spear hits its
mark and holds firm, the boy in the center tries to dislodge it by
bouncing the fruit on the ground as he swings it around. This is an
additional hazard for the others, as the spear may come flying out at

857
862 them. Youths join the older children at this game, but never in a
[883] supervisory capacity.

857 Youths may also join the children on their swings in the *bopi*, and
873 will almost certainly build their swings for them, climbing high up
561 into adjacent trees to drape a long liana between them. They then
868 teach the younger children the wild somersaulting games on these
882 swings that are particularly characteristic of the honey season. On the other side the youths equally often join the hunters but, again, always as a separate group, sometimes participating fully, but still as youths. And as youths they continue the process already begun in childhood, of growing more away from their nuclear families and together as an age group. Their hunting and scavenging abilities are greater, and they sometimes even maintain a self-sufficient food economy. As youths they are allowed to stay up at night, instead of retiring with their mothers, and they build their own fire near the hunters' fire and cook their own food and sing and dance, sometimes with the hunters and elders, sometimes separately.

882 As youths they are also given increasing responsibility, especially in the economic life of the band. They may listen to the discussions of the hunters and elders, but even if they make comments, as they do, they are not readily listened to unless it is a matter pertaining to their age group. Then they are required to be able to voice their opinions and cite precedents. They are expected to show an adult sense
[832] of responsibility in matters concerning sex and marriage, and although
[834] they may flirt quite openly and even audaciously, they never "play house," and not until after the *elima* will a girl again show her favor
[524] by cooking for a boy. Then it is tantamount to an admission of betrothal.

224 After marriage a boy acquires a net. It may be made for him by his
884 mother, or his father may give him part of his net to which he will
885 add, with his wife's help. He has already demonstrated his hunting
561 prowess or he would not be married, but now he is a full hunter with
[622] additional responsibilities. Whereas economic activity is shared be-
[581] tween the hunters and youths, it is the hunters who ultimately make the decisions concerning camp life, and about the hunt. Where to go for the daily hunt, when to move camp, to what region, how to deal with threats of physical danger, and how to surmount physical problems; such are the questions the hunter has to face. They all concern
88 the band as a whole. Nonphysical dangers and problems—that is to
561 say, moral, psychological and spiritual issues, those that affect the

P 439 C 439 608

band composition, these institutions have little direct economic application. However, they do serve as a means by which any villager may assert a claim of any Mbuti. Villagers frequently enter into agreements and become involved in disputes with each other as a result, but nonetheless a villager whose *karé* or hereditary Mbuti is supplying another villager with meat may demand either compensation, a share, or rights to the services of one of his fellow-villager's Mbuti.

P 439 *177

This, however, is still from the villager point of view. From the Mbuti point of view the only relevant factors are strictly economic: they will exchange meat and their services whenever it suits them, for whatever goods suit them, with whichever villager suits them. The subsequent complications due to any breach of *karé* or kinship considerations does not affect them in any way. Owing to the variable nature of Mbuti wants and the whimsical nature of his behavior when dealing with villagers, there can be no attempt to establish any kind of equivalent rates of exchange.

P 439 621 571 C [439]

Whereas with the villagers the exchange is institutionalized and integrated with the over-all social structure, with the Mbuti it is not. It is in the realm of individual and nonformalized behavior, not even necessarily linking the various members of a nuclear family. Since the exchange almost invariably takes place in the village, this may be taken as an indication of the breakdown of forest bonds among Mbuti living in a village. This fact is extended when, rarely, a villager visits a forest camp in the hopes of insuring at least an immediate and temporary supply of meat. His very presence, if permitted, changes the context from forest to village, and the hunting band becomes, with respect to the visiting villager, a village band, with corresponding social relations. The Mbuti only permit such visits if it is to their advantage, and even then they conceal with ease the game they catch daily and only give the villager what they wish to give.[3]

P 439 423 184 • 224

In view of the absence of any necessary dependence of the Mbuti upon the villager, for food or material, and even more in absence of any mutually accepted institutional relationship, we may regard such exchange as takes place with the village as having little or no bearing on the structure of the Mbuti forest economy, and we need consider it

C [618]

[3] Villagers consider it perfectly legitimate to cross their own territorial boundaries to visit any of "their" Mbuti who might be in someone else's village area, providing the visit is to a forest camp. This is one of several indications that the villagers clearly acknowledge the forest as belonging to the Mbuti; the offering of the firstfruits of a new plantation is another.

no further, except to point again to the obvious potential relationship 439
between hunting technology and village exchange, the net-hunters 224 •
being more easily able to acquire an excess of meat than the archers. 433
However, it is difficult to ascertain just how far this relationship is 184
effectual, for even the net-hunters maintain minimal exchange with
the villagers, and only on the same nonformalized individual basis.
There is rather more likelihood among the archers for there to exist a [622]
capita or *sultani* who will convey to his fellow-Mbuti the wishes of [621]
the villagers although he has no authority to take any other action,
and this may be seen as being due, in part at least, to the less productive technology of the archers, and in part to the greater prevalence of fragmentation into small sub-bands.

DIVISION OF LABOR

There is little to say about the division of labor in Mbuti society, 462
but most important is the fact that there is no religious belief or ritual 222
practice that relates any activity to any one sex, nor is there any con- 224
secration of those everyday tasks that normally fall into the jurisdiction of one sex or the other. This, of course, is what might be expected
from the personal terminology, which differentiates the sexes clearly
only at the parental level. Basically men hunt and make hunting [765]
equipment, and organize the *molimo* festivals. The women gather [881]
vegetable foods and other forest produce, build the huts, prepare and cook the food; they organize the *elima* festival. Men make bark cloth, women make baskets. Children take part in all the economic activities. But women help make the nets, and they invariably make the twine from which the nets are made. Among the net-hunters the women, girls and young children act as beaters and are thus an integral part of the hunt, as they are among the archers in the archer *begbe* hunt. Men of both archer and net-hunter bands have no hesitation in gathering mushrooms and other vegetable foods when they have the opportunity. In both groups it is primarily and almost exclusively the men who gather the honey, for women seldom climb trees.

Women take part in the *molimo* and, although it is a small part, it 562
is a highly significant one. The *elima*, though organized by the women [765]
and stemming from the maturation of a girl, is of equal importance to [881]
the male youths who play a vital role in the festival. All in all, sex does
not seem to be of any particular significance in determining the struc- [433]
ture of Mbuti economic activity. Of far greater significance is age, 561
433

732 734 become spirits, but there is no evidence of the old or crippled actually being treated with anything but a care and respect that, judging from appearances, derives more from affection and a sense of responsibility (not unmixed with a certain amount of rare forethought) rather than from fear.

HUNTING TECHNIQUES

224 • 411 The iron tools available to the Mbuti since the inception of their relationship with the village tribes have not, apparently, tempted them to develop their hunting technology. They do not dig pits or make traps, nor do they erect spear-falls, techniques employed by the villagers. To make their traditional technology more efficient, however, the Mbuti do use iron blades for their spears, axes, knives and arrow blades. The spear blade makes the hunting of elephants much easier, though old Mbuti assert that they used to kill elephants with fire-hardened wooden spears. The knives and machetes undoubtedly make the cutting of leaves, saplings and vines much quicker and easier, and the honey ax affords simple access to beehives deep within hollow branches or tree trunks. The arrow tip is used more by the archers than by the net-hunters, it seems, but both groups rely primarily on poisoned arrows. The bows of neither group are large or efficient, accuracy is made doubly difficult by the limited vision of the forest environment, and hunters often aim at a sound or a movement of leaves rather than by sight of the actual quarry. With the poisoned arrow even a light graze will bring down the quarry, whereas with the metal-tipped arrow direct impact on a vital spot is essential. Even so, so chancy is Mbuti archery that throughout the forest the practice is to hold a handful of arrows in the hand that holds the bow; this enables them to be drawn and fired with remarkable rapidity. Naturally many are lost, but the loss of a poisoned arrow is of far less economic significance than the loss of a metal tip.

224 Traditional hunting techniques include archery, net-hunting and spear hunting, and occasional snaring (usually by youths, sometimes by old men). Nets vary in length from one to three hundred feet, and are about four feet in height. Seven small nets, together with beaters, might form a circle of over one hundred yards in diameter. Any area smaller than this would be impractical, as the game would be scared away before the nets could be set up and the beaters get in place. Even seven nets of average length would only form a circle barely two hun-

224 dred yards across. However, thirty nets would form a circle, with beaters, which in diameter could be as much as a mile. Such a large area becomes difficult to control and dangerous. Since it is customary for
[422] nets to be owned only by married men, and exceptionally by a bache-
[554] lor who has proved himself as a particularly fine hunter, it can be seen
[162] that a net-hunting band, to be an efficient economic unit, must be limited to between six or seven and thirty nuclear families.

224 Insofar as brothers tend to learn to hunt from their father they
476 make ideal hunting partners, and frequently stand in line in the hunt.
[593] It is important to know the habits of the hunter next to you, as he will be hidden by the undergrowth and his movements must be anticipated before shooting an arrow or throwing a spear in the direction of any game. Even when game falls into a net there is still danger, since the smallest antelope is vicious when trapped, and the larger animals capable of inflicting serious injury with their teeth and horns. A trapped animal has to be killed as quickly as possible, and anyone nearby will run to the spot with his spear at the ready. Injuries resulting to Mbuti in the resultant melee are not frequent, but when they occur it is almost always between two people who do not commonly hunt close to each other, and who have misjudged each other's movements.

224 However, there is no rule about brothers setting up their nets next
476 to each other; the order of nets is determined primarily by age, the
561 older hunters occupying the center of the semicircle of nets, the younger hunters at the fringes (conveniently separating fathers from their older sons, with whom there may be some rivalry). A young man is much more likely to choose to hunt beside an unrelated friend of the same age than beside a brother who is much older or younger than he is. A dispute in camp may upset the customary order, but generally the order, once established, remains fairly constant except for the retirement of older men from the center, and the movement inward from the younger men at the extremities. Temporary visitors to the camp usually hunt near the ends of the semicircle, but older men will probably be invited to join those in the center.

224 Magic associated with the net-hunt is slight. If rain threatens there
789 are a few hunters who will try to blow the rain away by allowing moss
821 to fall from their fingers while they blow at it and wave their arms in the direction they wish the clouds to go. Sometimes a whistle is blown, with the same arm-waving. If rain comes despite these activities, there is generally laughter, and the "magician" shrugs his shoulders as though he expected as much.

224 789 825 though he expected as much. Rather more serious is a medicine called, in the Epulu district, *anjo*. It is a paste made from the heart, brain and eyes, sometimes from other parts as well, of some highly prized game. The paste is charred and placed inside the horn of that animal, which is then inverted and stuck in the ground, usually near the family hearth. The paste is put on the body, most often the forehead, of the hunter and of members of his family. Sometimes it is even offered to privileged friends. It is believed to convey to the hunter the senses of the animal so that he will be able to deceive the animal as well as foresee his movements. However, the use of this individual magic is considered antisocial in many bands, particularly if it appears to be attended by success at the cost of others in the band. It may cause disputes, and then generally all such medicine is collected and burned. [577] [578]

224 533 535 789 By far the most significant magico-religious acts connected with the hunt are more of the order of religion than of magic. One is the hunting song (with or without dance), and the other is the hunting fire. The song or the dance may precede or follow a hunt. It is distinct from any other form of song or dance. The song form is rather complex and demands co-operation in a manner comparable to that demanded in the hunt itself. The dance is suggestively imitative of a successful hunt, but is by no means mere mime. Like the song form, the choreography is quite distinct, and is not used in any other context.

224 772 789 The hunting fire in the southern part of the net-hunting area takes the form of a fire lit near the trail just before the hunt sets out in the morning. It is generally lit by youths, always at the base of a young tree. When blazing it is covered with leaves, so the heavy smoke is given off. Men and women, as they pass by the fire on their way to the hunt, may stop to gossip, or they may pay no attention. I have not seen or heard of any accompanying ritual or invocation, the only explanation ever stated being that the fire is to rejoice the forest, and it would seem to have the same primary purpose as song and dance, that of attracting the attention of the forest. It is certainly believed that the fire will insure the protection of the Mbuti and help toward success in the hunt. [778]

[184] Further north, another form of hunting fire is used, associated with rather more ritual. There the net-hunters build the fire within the camp, whereas in the south it is always just outside. The fire is sur-

Congo-Kinshasa FO1

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224 rounded by a vine that is carefully staked into the ground by V-shaped
392 twigs. Within the circle long twigs, clean of bark, sometimes simply
789 burned to create a pattern, are stuck into the ground pointing in the
direction the hunt is to take place. Any animal caught is brought back
and placed within the circle before being divided.

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224 There is undoubtedly village influence to be found in some of the
392 more elaborate magical practices. The Mbuti themselves consider
789 anjo as village magic, also the magic sticks within the hunting-fire
177 circle. The fire, however, is used everywhere, and regardless of any
other accompanying ritual, there is no ritual attitude toward it other
than the belief that it will secure the attention, hence the blessing,
of the protective forest.

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224 One clear example of village influence is that in any village context
177 the Mbuti are likely to state sexual taboos connected with the hunt.
834 These vary according to the village tribal custom, and may involve
prohibition of sexual intercourse before the hunt, either as a permanent
rule (which would be inconvenient for people who hunt almost
daily) or for special occasions or classes of people. A menstruating
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[841] woman and her husband are forbidden to take part in the hunt, according
to some village customs. A pregnant woman may be under
restrictions, as may be her husband, and childbirth involves further
restrictions among many village tribes. To all such customary practices
the Mbuti gladly pay lip service. In the forest, however, forest
values prevail, and I have come across no sexual taboos associated
directly with the hunt. Indeed, the hunt is considered by many, married
and unmarried, as an excellent and exciting time to slip away
into the bush and copulate. But sexual activity is above everything
else a matter of personal taste. If a pregnant woman stays in camp,
it is more likely because she feels unwell. If a father stays behind with
his wife and her newborn child, it is probably because he wishes to be
with them, though there are sometimes stated prohibitions on hunting
or eating meat until the family net traps a large antelope. This will
be made the occasion for lifting the taboo and for naming the child.

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778 However, it is impossible to discover any consistent pattern of actual
177 behavior, the only consistency appearing in stated behavior, and
this relates directly to local village custom, which is based on the
C belief that the forest is ritually dangerous, unclean. Any villager in a
778 position of crisis, such as becoming pregnant, being born, suffering
from sickness or even injury, during menstruation or while near

P 778 177 *

death, will be kept well clear of the forest, whose malign influence could adversely affect the outcome of the crisis.

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While the net-hunt divides the band into nuclear-family units insofar as each net clearly belongs to a nuclear family, there is no particular order for setting out on the hunt. Nuclear families may split up right at the beginning, children joining their age mates, women going off together, the menfolk forming clusters of friends or brothers, in much the order in which they will hunt. It is always decided the night before, by common discussion and consent, where the hunt is to take place, and everyone makes his way there of his own accord, generally passing by the hunting fire on the way. On arrival the women will already be mostly separated from the men, and invisibly take up their stations while the men silently stretch their nets out through the undergrowth, supporting them on the foliage, the ends of each net being tied to those on either side of it.

The hunters generally take up their stand near the center of their net, but the practice varies according to their relationship with their hunting neighbors, and also according to whether they have any sons with them at the net. When the extremes are ready (the setting up begins in the middle of the semicircle) a signal is given to the women, who immediately start closing in from their opposing semicircle, beating the ground with branches, shouting, yelling and hooting. The men remain concealed until the very last moment. They always lie in wait behind the nets, and will only cross into the circle to go to someone's assistance when game is caught. Game is not generally shot at or speared until it is in the net or until it shows signs of escaping. It is then that the Mbuti must know the likely whereabouts of all his fellows, as the strophanthus poison used most widely is as deadly to human beings as to animals.[3] P 278

Once an animal is killed, and each cast of the nets may bring in several animals, it is taken by the wife of the lucky net-owner and put into her carrying basket, to be shared out on return to the camp. If the animal is a large one, and too heavy to put in a basket, either one P 224 482 462

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[3] When the poison is prepared, one test for its strength is to make a slight cut in the forearm and to allow the blood to trickle down for an inch. The poisoned wooden tip of an arrow is then touched to the blood below the wound. If, as the Mbuti say, the poison "walks up the arm," they claim to feel a tickling sensation and hurriedly wipe the blood away. If the poison does not "walk up the arm" it is not strong enough. So wary are the Mbuti of poisoned arrows that they carry them thoroughly sheathed in a bundle of leaves, in case they accidentally scratch themselves. Also, when they have fired and lost a poisoned arrow, they may spend a considerable time trying to find it rather than leave it as a possible danger to other hunters.

• 224 482 of the youths will put it across his shoulders and take it back to the camp, or it will be divided on the spot. Such division, however, is not considered final, and further sharing may be demanded on return to the camp if the hunt was not fully rewarding.

224 The system of sharing is nowhere the same, and the frequent interchange of visitors between hunting bands renders sharing even more complex. Each band, however, will state certain rules, and will not hesitate to override them in order to bring about the recognized goal—equitable distribution of the spoils, with special consideration for the owner of the successful net and for anyone who contributed to the kill by using or lending his spear, and so forth. Elders and children are allocated certain parts of each animal, and this helps to insure that these nonhunters are cared for adequately, though their friends and kin will always provide them with more if needed. If the hunt is so successful that game falls into every net, then there will be no sharing, though there may be exchange simply for the sake of preferences of taste.

224 578 152 626 This is not to say that sharing takes place without any dispute or acrimony. On the contrary, the arguments that ensue when the hunt returns to camp are frequently long and loud, and appear to be almost deliberately sought. One such example is when someone will invoke the rules of sharing of another band, where perhaps she or he may have a relative. Indeed it is remarkably seldom that the Mbuti will admit to having had a completely successful hunt. As a result, the return of the hunters is the inevitable signal for personal grievances, however far out of context, to be aired and expressed in terms of sharing rights. There is no formal settlement of the dispute, but invariably there is a compromise and there will be an exchange, at least, if not a sharing. This is undoubtedly an important outlet for petty hostilities and jealousies, which are automatically kept well within bounds by the very fact that, whatever the nature of the original dispute, it is [476] made to relate to the hunt. No dispute can be allowed to threaten the co-operative pattern of the hunt, for subsistence depends completely upon the continuation of such close co-operation. This is of course particularly true among the net-hunters, whose hunting technology demands larger bands and closer and more constant co-operation between band members.

000 Following is an example of different rules for the distribution of game:

Following is an example of different rules for the distribution of game:

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NET-HUNTERS

Area	*Portion of body*	*Given to*
Epulu	Head	Elders, for wisdom
	Back	Male hunters, for strength
	Private parts	Children, to help them grow
	Shoulder, liver, heart	Owners of net, spear, and others who helped in kill
Wamba	Head	Sister or sister-in-law, or to dog if it helped in kill
	Back and forelegs	Shared all around
	Private parts	Owner of net
	Rear legs, liver, chest	Owner of net and those who helped in kill
	Stomach	Elders
Biasiku	Head	Women, or to owner of dog if it helped in kill
	Back	The woman who carried the animal back to camp
	Private parts	Children (who also get other intestines)
	Forelegs and liver	Net-owner and helpers
	Rear legs	Net-owner and helpers
	Stomach	Women
	Chest	Net-owner

ARCHERS

Area	*Portion of body*	*Given to*
Kilo	Head	Owner of dog
	Chest, legs, liver, heart	Owner of dog
	Back	Divided among all
	Rump	Elders, particularly to dog-owner's father, who will then further share it
	Stomach	Anyone who might have gone ahead and first put up the game

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Area	*Portion of body*	*Given to*
Nduye	Head	Women
	Back and legs	Shared all around
	Private parts	Dog-owner (who will give them to the dog)
	Intestines	Shared all around
	Stomach	Elders
Biasa	Head	Owner of dog
	Chest and legs	Shared all around
	Back	Dog-owner
	Private parts	Children and elders
	Stomach	Elders

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It will be seen that the only element the various systems have in common is in the selection of certain categories of people. Women are separated from the men among all three net-hunting bands and one archer band. The net-owner corresponds to the archer dog-owner. Elders are singled out everywhere except at Biasiku, where the hunters said they would be obliged to give the elders whatever they wanted. Children figure in two net-hunting bands, and only in one archer band, where they are coupled with elders.

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The only kinship relations specified are "sister and sister-in-law," which can perhaps be better interpreted simply as "women," among the Wamba net-hunters, and "dog-owner's father" at the Kilo archer camp, where the hunters were insistent that the rump would be given to the father, if alive, for him to divide among the other elders as he thought fit. In practice, however, sometimes using a village system of kinship obligations, the Mbuti men and women will make claims on grounds of kinship. In any case, as stated, the actual sharing generally is accomplished to suit the needs of the moment rather than to satisfy any system, stated or otherwise.

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The net-hunt can then be seen not only as a determining factor on the size of the band but also as a major mechanism for insuring co-operation of band members, and for allowing daily expression of internal hostilities and providing for their resolution through the highly fluid "system" of sharing. While the net-hunt expresses the importance of the nuclear family in that the nuclear family is the basic hunting unit (the father owning the net, the mother beating toward

it, the children standing guard at the net or at the fringes of the hunt), 224 nonetheless the nuclear family is divided in the hunt, and both men 621 and women are forced to co-operate with their neighbors, who may 626 or may not be kin. The hunt above all is not an individual affair but 594 involves the band as a whole, as is borne out in the ultimate disposition of the spoils.

That the net-hunt is regarded as a matter of importance to the forest, 224 regarding the forest in a religious sense, is evidenced by the hunting 778 fire, the song and the dance, rather than by any elaborate ritual, purification, or sexual taboo. The close relationship between the [304] hunt as an economic activity and the hunt as a religious act is seen in the widespread custom of rubbing ashes from charred forest woods into the skin, sometimes slitting the skin first to achieve permanent tattoo marks. This is stated to secure the protection of the forest.

Whereas I was never able to secure confirmation of Schebesta's description 224 of food offerings being made to the forest, except through 825 villager informants, there is very definitely a strongly felt and stated 152 urge to use every part of the animal, and never to kill more than is [114] necessary for the band's needs for the day. This in fact may be one 782 reason why the Mbuti are so reluctant to kill an excess of game and preserve it for exchange with the villagers. There is no expression of joy in the capturing and killing of an animal, though the excitement still runs strongly. The moment of killing is best described as a moment of intense compassion and reverence. The fun that is sometimes subsequently made of the dead animal, particularly by the youths, appears to be almost a nervous reaction, and there is an element of fear in their behavior. On the other hand, a bird caught alive may deliberately be toyed with, its feathers singed off over the fire while it is still fluttering and squawking until it is finally burned or suffocated to death. This again is usually done by youths who take the same nervous pleasure in the act; very rarely a young hunter may absent-mindedly do the same thing. Older hunters and elders generally disapprove, but do not interfere.

The respect seems to be not for animal life but for the game as a 224 gift of the forest, and a gift that may be withheld if abused by waste. It is further considered that good hunting is essential to the success [881] of either an *elima* or a *molimo* festival, and during such festivals cer- [765] tain hunts are devoted expressly to supplying the festival with food.

Among the archers, the system of sharing game and the respect for 224 game are comparable in their political and religious connotations: 621

224 magic seems to be somewhat more prevalent. Further, although
621 archery does not demand a relatively large co-operative band as does
[221] net-hunting, and although for most of the year the archers seem to
be split into small bands of maybe only three or so nuclear families, the band is actually comparable in size and composition, and manifests its unity once a year for the annual *begbe* beat-hunt.

The *begbe* is remarkably like the net-hunt in technique and in social function. The major difference is the absence of nets, which makes for a much smaller circle for the same number of participants. Seven nuclear families could successfully hunt with nets; they could never form a *begbe* hunt. By the same token, more than thirty families could easily participate in *begbe* without inconvenience or danger, and if we define the archer band by stated territorial boundaries, and consider its composition as consisting of those who hunt within those boundaries during the year and form the communal *begbe* hunt once a year, then the average size of the archer band is probably larger than that of the net-hunting band.

The *begbe* demands large numbers; the men form a tight semicircle, each man well within sight of the next, the women and children forming a similarly tight semicircle opposite. The men are armed with bows and arrows, and with spears; the women make petards, which when beaten on the ground make a sharp, explosive sound. When the circle is complete, the women beat toward the men, who try to kill the animals before they break through their ranks, a procedure that is considerably more hazardous than the net-hunt, where the hunters can afford to wait until the game is at least temporarily held up by the net.

224 Among the archers the *begbe* is referred to as the beginning of the
221 new year, and the hunt coincides, it seems, with the honey season,
621 which for the net-hunters is similarly the beginning, or the end, of
the year. During this season, then, the archer band is consolidated and co-operative, though it seldom builds a single camp. Rather, there may be from three to five large camps, but built close to each other (within earshot) and connected by trails. This, however, is the one time of year when the band does meet and hunt as such, though even at this time there is no central authority.

621 For the rest of the year the band is broken up into smaller units,
221 each one economically and politically independent of the other. These
sections may vary in size from two or three nuclear families to as many as ten, or temporarily even a few more. Generally an archer camp contains from three to six families.

contains from three to six families. In the same way that among the 621
net-hunters the smaller camps built during the honey season show 622
rather more evidence of patrilineal bonds, so do the smaller archer 602
camps. They are still by no means exclusively patrilineal-patrilocal 613
units however, and although respect is paid to the lineage head, it is no more than would be paid to any elder. Indeed, even the small camps are frequently composite to an extent that lineal authority would be unworkable. As we shall see for the net-hunters, authority is widely dispersed through the different age groups, for different activities.

The archers make use of the dog to a far greater extent than do the 224
net-hunters, who only use it incidentally (particularly elders who go off on their own with bow and arrows). The common practice is for three or so hunters to lie in wait, possibly concealed up in trees, near an animal trail. They will entice game with antelope calls, and shoot at it when it has come between them. Dogs are used more by single men or men hunting in pairs, who prefer to track rather than to ambush. Women do not participate in the hunt, and go off on their own, but never singly, to gather. [462] [222]

If one such minimal section of the band is not having successful 224
hunting or gathering, its first step will be, as with any hunting camp, 621
to abandon the site and move elsewhere. However, with the territory 166
split up among a number of similar sections, the freedom of choice is not as great as among the net-hunters, where the band is encamped as a single unit and may move anywhere else within the territory without hindrance. Consequently one section may join temporarily 224
with another. Alternatively, it may send to another and ask for a share 166
of their spoils. Generally, however, contact between one section and 621
another is more for purposes of socialization, as the forest is no less 628
abundant here than in the region of the net-hunters, and the same [461]
axiom holds good—a hungry camp is a lazy camp.

Each section is free to move where it will and cannot claim any right to any particular subterritory, and although it happens, it is considered bad form to camp too close to another section without asking permission simply because they have found good hunting. It frequently happens that hunters from different sections find themselves hunting in the same area between their two camps, and in that case they either separate or else they join up, depending on the nature of the game present.

The presence of elephants may be made an occasion for two r more 224 628 825

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

Congo - Kinshasa FO1

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• 224 sections to join together temporarily, and the archers share the same
628 two techniques of elephant hunting that are used by the net-hunters.
825 Some hunters like to make a kill on their own, not so much to gain
[554] status, for such status is virtually meaningless, but for personal satis-
faction. They will trail an elephant, then run up underneath it and
jab their spear several times into its belly, aiming at the bladder. If
they see urine spurt out they know the elephant will die in a day or
so, and they will return to their camp, which will pack up and trail the
dying elephant and build a new camp around it.

Alternatively, four or five Mbuti will lie in wait, and when an ele-
phant appears one will stand out on the trail in front of it so that it
stops. At that moment one who is concealed behind will run out and
slice the tendon of one of the rear heels. The elephant will spin
around, partially immobilized, whereupon another concealed strategi-
cally will run out and slice the other tendon. The elephant can then
be killed at leisure, though still not with ease.

The killing of an elephant will inevitably bring other sections of
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the band to the scene, and the meat will be shared among all. The mo-
[221] ment it is finished, however, the band will again split up and remain
this way for the rest of the year. Thus the *begbe*, during the honey sea-
son, remains the only time when the band assembles as such for the
purposes of acting together as an economic unit. It is unlikely that
more than one elephant will be killed during the year; the maximum
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I know of in one territory is three, and this was considered highly
exceptional. Further, although elephant hunting may result in the
[621] assembly of a number of sections, or even of the total band, it does
not involve communal activity.

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Neither the archers nor the net-hunters, despite the abundance of
224 wildlife around them, acknowledge many totemic restrictions, though
613 they could well do so without suffering. But the very abundance also
614 renders it unnecessary to have institutionalized methods of insuring
c
even distribution. Among the villagers, whose supply of meat depends
[613] almost entirely on the Mbuti and is consequently unpredictable and
[614] erratic, totemic observances are common and rigidly enforced, and can
[439] be seen to affect distribution to some extent, as the totemic animals
include those most frequently caught.

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Such totemic observances among the Mbuti that do not derive
224 from individual allergies are associated with membership in the
613 patrilineal lineage. The animals so respected are without exception
614 those least frequently killed, hunted or eaten. By far the most wide-
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spread totem is the leopard, and even those who do not have the 224
leopard as their clan totem, and can therefore lawfully kill the animal, 613
say they would never eat the meat. Some give the reason that the 614
leopard eats human beings, and in this way anyone eating a leopard 262
is also eating human flesh. Whereas insofar as clans themselves are 825
suspect as being possibly of village origin, so are the totems, and indeed totemic observance itself. But there is no doubt that the leopard is throughout the forest considered by the Mbuti as having supernatural connotations. More of this will be seen when we discuss the *molimo*, the men's religious association, which is active primarily at the time of death of a member of the hunting band. The derivation [192]
of the term is unknown, and it has no translation, but *moli* is the word used by the same Mbuti for the leopard. The animal is considered beautiful because of the grace of its movements, and in this context it is likened to a dancer. It is respected for its power and skill as a hunter. It is feared for the way it brings death, to animals or human beings, swiftly and silently and inevitably. There are many who do not claim the leopard as their totem, but who nonetheless would not even touch a dead leopard, let alone kill one or eat it.

The chimpanzee and the buffalo are probably the next two most commonly given totems, and they are also animals that have the least possible interest among Mbuti as a source of food. The chimpanzee because, they say, it is nearly human, and the buffalo simply because it is such bad eating. Other Mbuti who may eat these animals seldom do. Buffalo is tough and unpleasant-tasting, they say, and is eaten only if there is nothing else. Also, any sensible Mbuti will seek to get out of a buffalo's way rather than to challenge and kill it. There is no merit in killing a buffalo, as there is in killing an elephant. To seek one out is considered a foolishness, the mark of a stupid and conceited hunter. To be attacked by one and to escape are considered a sign of good luck; if the buffalo is killed in defense, however, that only brings incidental fame. If, as sometimes happens, a buffalo is constantly making a nuisance of itself in a particular part of the territory that cannot always be avoided, and presents a real danger to hunters and gatherers, then five or six of the great hunters will set out to kill it, with considerable trepidation. It is above all an animal to be avoided for every possible practical reason.

The chimpanzee, on the other hand, is avoided for more personal 224
reasons, largely associated with its semihuman appearance. Someone 262
who does not like to eat chimpanzee will also be likely to refuse to 825

224 eat any monkey. Sometimes older men will eat chimpanzee, and this
262 seems to be more so among the archers than the net-hunters. Cer-
825 tainly, chimpanzees are more likely prey for the archer than the net-hunter.

[614] Other animals stated as clan totems are similarly either undesirable for good practical reasons, or so rare that their exclusion is of little practical significance.

262 Restrictions sometimes cited as "totemic" by the Mbuti, and which include the more common and desirable game, have proven in my experience to be not totemic at all, but due to personal allergies. Any food that makes a child sick will be forbidden to it until it grows older. At puberty (i.e., when he or she is old enough to participate in the *elima*) he may try that food again, and either continue the restriction or abandon it, according to the results. Again at marriage he may try it. From then on he is unlikely to make any further attempts, though nothing is to stop him. There are plenty of alternatives, and exchange on grounds of taste is about as frequent as economic sharing. There is certainly nothing hereditary about such restrictions.

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262 Apart from this, the Mbuti make ample use of the game offered by the forest. Their technology, limited by the same environment to nets, bows and arrows, spears and vine snares, is more than adequate for their subsistence. Perhaps some measure of the sufficiency of supply is the fact that little effort is made to tap the more difficult sources of food, such as the fowl and monkeys that throng the upper branches of the trees. An even more surprising rejection of a much easier source is the rejection of fish. Fish of many kinds fill the forest streams and rivers, and are caught with the utmost ease, yet they are considered as food fit only for children.

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262 On the other hand certain ants, termites, snails and grubs are considered as delicacies and eagerly sought, though these are probably more properly considered under gathering.

222 GATHERING

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[462] Gathering among both net-hunters and archers is similar, and although primarily the concern of the women, there is no shame in a man gathering any vegetable foods he may come across. The gathering of termites, grubs and so forth is equally practiced by men and women.

The foods most commonly gathered for daily consumption are

mushrooms, of which there are many edible varieties at any one time 222
throughout the year; the sweet *itaba* and similar roots, which are found by following its telltale vine along the ground, then grubbing with a stick for the roots at the end; nuts, of which there are again many varieties at any time of year; and divers berries. There are also succulent fruits and a few leafy vegetables, though the latter seem rarely used except as herbs. However, they are likened by the Mbuti [252]
to the village manioc top, which is cooked as a spinach, and perhaps it is because of the availability of manioc tops and their more pleasant taste that the indigenous vegetable is falling into disuse.

Among the net-hunters, gathering takes place during the course of [224]
the net-hunt, on the way to and from the hunt, and between each cast of the nets. Women carry baskets on their backs, with a bark [482]
tumpline over their foreheads, as do their young daughters. In the same way that the boys form an age group during the hunt, so do the girls. The boys split into two sections and guard each extremity of their hunting semicircle; likewise the girls split into two groups and beat at each end of the semicircle of beaters. Only the older boys and girls are expected to act as adults, and even they need not necessarily act with their parents. The girls go off on foraging parties on their own, and women go off in twos and threes to do their gathering. There [602]
is no recognizable kinship pattern, at least among the Epulu band, to these gathering associations. Women or girls who gather together are likely to be friends of approximately the same age; that is about the only generalization possible.

Men, not having baskets with them, are less able to gather effectively, but if they pass a bank of mushrooms they will pick whatever they can carry without encumbering themselves, and they will send the younger boys back to camp with their arms full.

Gathering, then, is a much more individual affair than hunting among the net-hunters. Even among the archers, where the women are not required on the hunt, they only go off in twos or threes to gather, and the same freedom is allowed for the men to gather whenever they have the opportunity. The spoils are similarly regarded much [422]
more as individual property than as communal, though sharing does take place.

There are no rituals and no magic associated with gathering, but 222
insofar as it is primarily a woman's occupation, *elima* songs are fre- 533
quently sung on gathering expeditions. As with hunting songs, the 789
[778]
elima songs are designed to attract the attention of the forest deity, [776]

131 621 628 bounded by Beni, Mambasa, and Irumu, more than sufficient for the economic needs of any band, however large. The size of the band is determined more by hunting technology than by territorial food-producing capacity, but each territory does provide, within itself, a means of regulating the internal movement of the band or its subsections.

621 224 166 131 Game, while not migratory in the wider sense, nonetheless tends to move about from one part of the forest to another nearby part, as it temporarily exhausts one area of supply after another. The game itself is in this respect comparable to the band, which similarly is forced to move, not only as it gathers out an area but also as it hunts it out. The same topographical barriers that provide natural boundaries to the Mbuti also often provide natural boundaries to the game, and so in any one hunting territory there is a definite pattern to the movement of both Mbuti and game, the one following the other. The Mbuti may break the pattern either by eating village foods or by abandoning one section of their territory for another, for there may be several "game territories" within one hunting territory.

621 131 There are then general economic aspects of territory that influence the movement and division of the hunting band, but they in no way compel it into one specific pattern or another. Far more important is the simple fact of the ample economic self-sufficiency of each hunting territory, and the fact that this is a factor recognized, appreciated and utilized by the Mbuti.

628 224 131 ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN HUNTING BANDS

It is only extremely rarely that one band has any kind of economic relationship with its neighbors, and the nature of the relationship depends entirely on the context. As already observed, while there is a recognized custom of not crossing into another band's territory, this may be done if that band is nowhere in the vicinity. The likelihood of this happening depends on the nature of the boundary (how easily it may be traversed) and the nature of the quarry. It is unlikely that any but the most desirable game would be pursued. If such game is caught, however, then a share of it is due to the band in whose territory it was killed. While it would be unusual for one band to inform another of such good fortune, if discovered there is no hesitation at sharing in the prescribed way.

The movement of bees seems to be somewhat less even than that of 628
game in the Ituri Forest, and it sometimes happens during the honey 222
season that one hunting territory may have a glut of honey while a 131
neighboring territory has a scarcity. In that case the less fortunate band will either poach, and hope not to get caught and so have to share, or else it will ask permission to camp on foreign territory. In the latter case there will probably be an exchange of residents between the two bands, the host band thus being able to insure its rights. (As [621
often as not, due to the composite nature of the bands, the en- 602]
croaching band will have among its female or even its male members a relative, if not an original member, of the resident band. However, the loyalty of such individuals is divided, and is generally given to their present hunting band; otherwise undiscovered poaching would be impossible.)

The camps are generally as far apart as possible, unless the en- 621
croaching band is small, or a mere subsection that is tentatively seek- 628
ing a re-alignment with the resident band. Similarly with hunting, 624
joint hunting camps are exceptional, and to my own knowledge oc- 476
cur only if there is a common desire to hunt elephants which may be in one or both territories. The purpose of such joint hunts generally [439]
involves village economics, in particular the supply of ivory to the villagers. In itself elephant-hunting demands only a handful of men at the most, and more than one dead elephant would be an *embarras de richesses*, to say the least.

It is not surprising, then, that there are no institutionalized means 438
of regulating economic relationships between bands. Such co-opera- 628
tion as does occur is completely outside the normal economic frame of reference. There is certainly no exchange of goods or food between bands, except insofar as a visiting family generally brings with it some meat, honey, nuts or mushrooms to share with their hosts. Each territory not only provides a sufficiency of food but an equally ample sufficiency of all the other material necessities of life.

The only true economic relationship that persists between bands 621
is concerned with maintaining each territorial band at its optimum 628
economic strength of composition. The overenlargement of one band and the diminution of another leads to a relocation of some of the families of the larger band in the territory of the smaller. Owing to the constant flux in composition, however, this is only a temporary relationship between two temporary populations, and does not in-

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156
157 particular asset in the hunt. This was his world. He had little or no in-
[595] terest in the village.

Njobo, on the other hand, was excellent at dealing with the village and seemingly enjoyed it, for brief periods. He was much closer to the Nambikwara, who "delights in responsibility" and who "finds enough reward in those burdens that their fellows shy away from" (*ibid*).
554 Although his wives were successive, it is worth mentioning that his
156 penultimate wife, mother of his crippled son, was not remarried and
593 was still considered by all, including Njobo, as his senior wife. Although she lived with her natal band, she sometimes visited Njobo (particularly when he was in the village), and he also visited her, at which times they acted in all respects like man and wife. Njobo refused to allow her to live with him in the forest hunting camps.

156 Njobo's father, Biyonga, had not been outstanding in any way. He
554 had been dead a number of years, and nobody seemed to remember
555 him for any particular qualities.[1] Njobo, on the other hand, was
157 among the finest hunters, and unique in having killed, single-handed,
[224] four elephants. He had also participated in successful communal elephant and buffalo hunts, and apart from being a hunter of the utmost courage, he was also a man of the utmost integrity. He possessed, in abundance, all those qualities the Mbuti admire most except a good singing voice. He himself was modest, and usually self-effacing in the
[648] hunting camp. He came to the fore in relations with the village, and frequently acted as "headman" of the band in that respect. However,
156 if ever he spoke too loudly in camp, he was either shouted down or
152 laughed at; ridicule he accepted and even welcomed. I only heard him
554 make a retort once, when reference was made to his son's inability to walk without a stick. He said, "It is never good for one man to talk too much, particularly if he is right. But if an Mbuti has something to say, what else can he do?"

156 Njobo had no brothers, but his sisters had produced a number of
604 children, several of whom, married and single, were members of the
596 same band. The only sister who was in the band was a widow, and her children were elsewhere. She acted as mother to all her nephews and nieces, among which were two youths, cousins to each other, and each recently married. When Njobo was away from the band for a

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[1] Although there was a general reluctance to mention the dead by name, or even to talk about them, there was no rigid prohibition. It was a question more of there being no particular occasion for such mention. If Biyonga had been exceptional in any way, it would certainly have arisen sooner or later in ordinary conversation, and equally certainly in response to questioning.

meaningless trivia. Such disputes I have put in a class by themselves, 627
though wherever a deeper underlying dispute was known to have lain 578
behind an apparently trivial dispute, it has been classified accordingly.

DISPUTES CONCERNING FOOD

1. A mortar was borrowed by Njobo's sister, Teningbengé, from 252
Amaloku, Amabosu's wife. There is no kin relationship. Tening- 152
bengé's subsequent cooking did not please her son (Maipé, actually 578
her nephew), who complained that the mortar must have been dirty.
Amaloku, who by then had retrieved the mortar, said that on the contrary it was the food put into the mortar that was dirty, and not the mortar itself. Maipé promptly seized a log of wood and started fighting with Amabosu. Amaloku and Teningbengé fought with sticks. Amabosu's mother, Sau, joined the fight, against her daughter-in-law's
oldest sister, old Asofalinda. The dispute remained thus confined and [626]
was watched with much enthusiasm and laughter by the rest of the camp until Ekianga, brother to Amaloku and Asofalinda, stepped in and stopped the fighting by seizing the sticks and logs and throwing them away. Everyone returned to his hut and continued the evening meal.

2. Masisi, a great hunter, complained that the hunting was bad 224
and said the band should move to the village and eat there. His 578
cousin, Manyalibo, moved to midcamp and began a tirade against Masisi and everyone else for always complaining there was not enough food. He cited ten antelope caught that morning as evidence of the good hunting, and said that everyone should be happy and should be making the forest happy by singing, with so much food. And if they wanted more food they should hunt more and make the hunt even better. He said that if Masisi's noise continued he was going to leave.

Moké then took his place and quietly told everyone that nobody 224
should leave for anywhere, that nobody could deny that the hunt was 626
reasonably good, and that therefore the forest was pleased. If they [778]
moved or made too much noise it would be displeased. The forest
would be happy if the whole band were to set out the next day on
the biggest hunt of all. Then when the weather was better (it had [821
been raining for some days, always a cause of discontent and dis- 152
comfort) and nobody was making a noise, the whole band could move 166
wherever it liked (knowing that in such a mood it would move fur- 648]

224
626 ther away from the village, and thus further away from a source of
[821] friction).
[152]
[166] There was no singing, but it was done as Moké suggested. Mur-
[648] murs of assent came from all over camp, with both Masisi and
Manyalibo agreeing loudly.

578 3. Particularly at the beginning of the honey season, when ten-
621 dencies to fission are already well marked, disputes over food, par-
221 ticularly over hunger attributable to poor hunting, are made occasions
for enlarging the rift between the camp segments. Thus one day old
578 Tungana's younger son, named after his distant relative Njobo, came
593 flying back from the hunt in hot pursuit of his wife, Nakoranja.
152
221 Nakoranja, much to everyone's surprise, had lost her bark cloth and
621 was holding a leaf in front of her private parts, occasionally removing
it to emphasize her cry of "I am naked!"

Having made her point she disappeared into her hut and modestly continued her description as to how her husband had torn her bark cloth off to shame her because she wanted to join her "sister" (who was a member of another segment), Ekianga's youngest wife. Young
[224] Njobo, standing outside the hut, told the camp that his wife was
useless on the hunt, that she could not run as fast as even the slowest animal and let them all escape. Now they had no food and they would be hungry all day. Evidently she could not run as fast as her husband either, for he had caught her and given her a sound beating, ripping off her bark cloth when she tried to escape. He did not deny this, and Nakoranja said that this entitled her to pack up and leave.

578 Evidently this was something that had been brewing for some
593 time, and when the hunt came back and it was seen that the dispute
621 was forming along the line of fission, Tungana intervened and said
166 that there was no sense in everyone making so much noise, that the
next day he and his wife were going to leave for the village, and that young Njobo and Nakoranja were coming with them to look after them. The discussion immediately turned to the dangers of the trail, with the two segments siding with each other in common and equally insincere but polite opposition to Tungana's suggestion.

621 4. At a later stage, when fission became inevitable, discontent being
626 so high that the sections were not uniting in the hunt and therefore
not getting any meat, old Moké intervened. He stood in midcamp and harangued each section in turn, facing it and naming its mem-
[221] bers. He emphasized that this was the honey season and that hunting
should be stopped anyway, and everyone go to the forest in search of their honey trees, "you in this direction, you in that."

their honey trees, "you in this direction, you in that." But Moké did 621
an unusual thing. He said it was all right for the camp to split, but 626
it would displease the forest if it split badly, and it *was* splitting badly
("*apa ndaso aké sinana*"). Tungana had gone to the village; Masisi,
siding with Tungana but not wanting to join him, was planning to
go east, Ekianga to the north; Cephu was going to leave the territory
altogether; and Manyalibo's head "walked without sense" (said in
KiNgwana: "*kichwa yaké a na tembela wazi-wazi*") and he didn't
know where he was going. This was all bad. For this was one camp,
it was Kolongo's.

Kolongo had been dead some three years, and the names of the 621
dead are rarely mentioned. The whole camp fell silent, and very qui- 626
etly Moké recounted the history of the friendship between Kolongo 829
and Njobo, and how they used to hunt together and kill lots of ele- 769
phant and catch lots of antelope and how they always had full stomachs. "Kolongo never allowed noise, Njobo never allowed noise. Now there is nothing but noise, and we are hungry. Kolongo is dead, but that person there, Ekianga [Kolongo's younger brother] that person is now Kolongo. Njobo is not here, but that person and that person [Manyalibo and Masisi were indicated but not named] are Njobo. Let us all go our own ways and get lots of honey and sing honey songs and dance honey dances, then come back to one camp as before and hunt again."

The immediate bickering was stopped, and everyone agreed loudly 621
that Moké was indeed right. But as it turned out Manyalibo made 602
Moké's speech an excuse for siding with Ekianga in a hunting-honey 571
camp, and a deep rift opened up between the hitherto inseparable 578
cousins, Manyalibo and Masisi. Moké threw his lot in with Ekianga, in an effort to dissuade them from any grosser sacrilege, with exhortations to Masisi to make a good camp and gather lots of honey. Ekianga's eldest sister, her daughter, and Njobo's wife and some of his nephews and nieces joined Masisi, as did a young married nephew of Cephu, Kelemoké. Others joined Tungana, who prudently moved close to the village, where he could, by virtue of his age, claim gifts of food from all the sections and from his village *kpara*.

5. During the honey season, with the band divided into four sec- 621
tions, Masisi and Manyalibo were again at odds. Manyalibo, with 221
Ekianga and Moké and old Tungana, among others, formed a power- 224 •
ful section at the far northern extreme of the territory, and offended 578
Masisi's much smaller section by continuing to hunt. Masisi argued

621 221 224 578 that this was not customary during the honey season, and was displeasing to the forest. He also added that as his section was too small to hunt, Manyalibo was under an obligation to send him a share of all the meat caught by his part of the band. At the same time he set about trying to encourage the usually unwanted Cephu to join him, and swell his section to an economic hunting size. Cephu, always unpredictable, refused, though he agreed to send three nets as a token of goodwill. He never did. These communications were made through a series of visits made by Kelemoké, Cephu's nephew, between the three sections. The fourth section was in the village, and did not enter the dispute.

628 621 Two neighboring bands, hearing[2] that (a) the Epulu territory was exceptionally well endowed with honey that year, and that (b) Masisi was looking for reinforcement, took advantage of the situation to trespass judicially in the southeastern extreme of the territory, well away from all the others. Their overtures, made in the one instance by a meeting on neutral ground, and in the other by a personal visit to Masisi's camp by Herafu, a distant affine, were coldly rejected, and they were told to leave the territory or there would be war. In each case they responded that the territory was not Masisi's, and that in any case they had rights to the territory through affinal ties. They [222 778] added that in view of the surplus of honey Masisi was offending the forest by trying to steal it all for himself.

222 224 621 578 [251] [688] This put Masisi very much in the wrong. He then raised an issue, long known, to divert attention from himself. He pointed out to his own section that Manyalibo's camp had a drying rack in it, sure indication that he was trading with the village. This was a major crime, and two youths went to investigate. They found it indeed to be so, and without much argument Manyalibo offered them food to take back to Masisi. After a great deal of further argument, and threats by the youths that they would tell the rest of the villagers of what appeared to be a secret alliance between two of their members and Manyalibo's section, the youths were allowed to take all the meat they could see, and Manyalibo promised to send a net to his "brother" so he could hunt for himself. Two days later he did this. Attracted by the meat, Cephu sent two of his section to join Masisi, and eventually joined himself. The rift between Masisi and Manyalibo, however, remained, and they did not re-form in the same camp again that

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[203] [2] News of this kind travels between bands via the villages, and through the constant exchange of visits between cognates and friends.

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year. While Manyalibo's crime was serious enough, desecrating the 224 [22]
forest in the honey season by hunting for the villagers, Masisi's was 578
equally, if not more, serious, in his attitude to the trespassing bands. [688]
The night before Cephu joined him, Masisi was made the subject 222
of discussion, from the middle of his own camp, by several youths 621
and young hunters. They all asserted the right of their in-laws to 628
enter their own territory, to hunt or gather honey, whether they were 578
wanted or not. They agreed that permission should have been asked [626]
first, but that in light of the surplus of honey in the forest it was
hardly necessary. The discussion ended by everyone agreeing that all [186]
the noise[8] of the past weeks was plainly the fault of the villagers who
wanted the meat that caused the rift to begin with. This decision was 222
followed by a plea from Masisi for much singing to make the forest 533
happy again. The honey songs were immediately taken up with re- 626
newed vigor, and Masisi was prominent in maintaining them right to
the end of the honey season.

6. Largely through preoccupation with Cephu, Manyalibo and 626
Herafu, with the Effundi Somali band and now yet another trespass- 578
ing band from the neighboring Eboyo territory, Masisi's camp had 222
several days with little honey and little food of any kind. All men in 152
the group took turns in stating their complaints from midcamp, each 621
promising to find out who was responsible and threatening to name them. On the fourth successive day of such "noise," the singing having deteriorated, much to the disgust of the youths and the women, Masisi was particularly irritable and began a long harangue about how bad the whole thing was, including his present camp, and saying that he could name those who were responsible for it all being bad, but instead he was going to name those who must go out the next day and collect lots of honey and make it well again. He then named all the hunters. But he continued arguing and, getting more and more irate, began to imply that those he had just named were in fact those responsible. There were growing murmurs of protest, which only excited Masisi further, and there would almost certainly have been a
fight had it not been for the intervention of the youths and the young [534]
women. Two of the women and one youth seized the *ngbengbe*, [533]

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[8] "Noise" is a direct translation of the word *akami* in the local dialect of KiBira, or [192]
kelelé in KiNgwana. It is used in ordinary parlance, but always with an unfavorable con- [778]
notation. It is given special significance by adding the comment that noise is bad (*sinana*). This is tantamount to a moral judgment, invoking the supernatural sanctions of the forest, for noise is also said to kill the forest (*akami a mu ndura*), just as it is said to kill the hunt (*akami a mu mukira*).

626 wooden clappers used only for the accompaniment of honey songs,
621 578 and started clapping them vigorously while singing. Masisi found the
222 competition too strong, shrugged his shoulders, chased the women
152 away and, taking a pair of *ngbengbe* himself, joined in the singing.

[533] [534] The next day the men and the older youths went honey gathering
[431] and brought back enough honey to send some as a gift to Cephu.

7. Laziness is highly criticized among the Mbuti, and is always re-
157 lated to hunger. It is one of the few qualities (noisy hunting is an-
461 other, "blindness" in the honey season a third) that is countered by
536 public assertion, in mime, dance and song, of the opposite value.
[261] One morning, shortly after dawn, there were murmurings of discon-
[789] tent because of the dampness of the forest, and suggestions that there was enough food in camp to allow for a day without hunting. One of the older hunter's wives stalked out into the center of the camp and began an elaborate wordless mime, showing that she was not going to be lazy and stay behind and play and dance "empty" games and dances. She was going to take her husband's spear and go off and hunt (she reenacted a successful hunt) and return with lots of food and share it all around and make her *roho* good and make the forest happy. Then when *she* sang and danced, it would not be empty.

It was a good show, and the whole camp looked on and laughed, then went hunting.

• 224 8. One morning, at the beginning of the honey season, a number
461 of hunters set out, as usual, at scattered intervals. Several seemed to
626 be staying behind, so I also remained. After about half an hour the
578 hunters returned, one by one throwing their nets on the ground in the center of the camp. When they were all back, a bachelor youth who had gone with them began a tirade against the hunters who had stayed behind. Hearing his voice, and wondering why he was taking such a prominent part in a hunting issue, women began sleepily coming out of their huts. It was evident that too many had decided to stay home, and the hunt had not had enough beaters. The youth, Pepei, not only criticized the women as lazy animals for not coming on the hunt but also criticized the rest of the hunters, pointing out they had been even too lazy to send their sons with their nets, and had left people like himself, an orphaned youth, to do the work of men.

The hunters had nothing to say, but the women responded vigorously that they were not going to carry nets and spears for the men, they had work of their own to do, and that if enough youths had

gone there would have been enough beaters. As usual the women 224
were loud in their complaint, and two of the hunters who had stayed 461]
behind with their nets now joined the side of Pepei and said that they 626
had not gone because the women made so much noise, all the game 578
was scared away and the hunt would have been empty anyway. Even
Cephu had meat (a highly dramatic statement, for Cephu was usually
meatless, or considered so), and the neighboring Lesé pygmies had
meat, and everyone knew what poor hunters they were. But we were
all starving because everyone was lazy.

The discussion went on for about an hour, it being made an excuse
to raise all manner of minor sources of discontent. The hunt did not [535]
go off again, but in the afternoon there was a big hunting dance, and [482]
the next day the women made a special show of setting out, carrying
their husbands' nets and spears, at least until they were out of the
camp.

9. While many of the disputes concerning food arise out of gen- 578
eral shortage or dissatisfaction, usually owing to poor hunting, and [261]
are made occasion for bringing up almost any topic, they are more
often made occasion for criticizing specific groups. Thus children will [857]
find themselves criticized for making too much noise in their play-
ground, or for splashing too loudly in the stream and so frightening
the game away. Youths are accused of idling and playing with girls on [883]
the fringes of the hunt instead of guarding the edges against escaping
game. Women are blamed for being lazy or inefficient as beaters, men
for relying too much on women "who have other work to do." Elders
are blamed for not keeping the camp quiet while the hunt is away,
and always the whole camp is blamed for causing poor hunting by not
singing and dancing properly.

There are innumerable petty squabbles over division of food, but 626
these are always settled by those concerned. Never once have I seen 578
such a squabble become an affair for the whole band to discuss. The 224
only cases of disputes concerning food that have centered around
specific individuals, and have not been mere expressions of marital
disharmony, have concerned hunting "crimes." These are few and far
between, and rather than accuse someone of being a poor hunter it is
more often just pointed out that his net is always empty. There was
one occasion, however, on which Cephu set his net up inside the
hunting circle, therefore in a better position to catch the game being
driven in by the beaters. A full description of this is given elsewhere
(Turnbull, 1961, Chapter 5). Its essentials are as follows:

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224 Cephu was neither a very good nor a very popular hunter, and it may be that he was afforded less cooperation by his fellow hunters as a result. Toward the end of a particularly unsuccessful day, Cephu
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578 slipped off and set his net up where it would catch the first wave of animals put up by the beat. He was caught with his spoils, however, and when back in camp there was a gathering of all the youths and hunters and elders (except Moké) at the *kumamolimo* (hearth of the *molimo*), to which Cephu was summoned by calling his name across to the small camp he had built for himself. He was named in the most uncomplimentary terms, and when he finally came to defend himself he was subjected to indignities, even by the youths and children. He was openly accused of stealing food from his fellow Mbuti, and this was something only animals did (note that the anger was of the band at someone having stolen from the band; this to the Mbuti is true theft). All manner of other grievances were brought up
[765] against Cephu, particularly his lack of participation in the *molimo* for Balekimito, Ekianga's mother, paternal aunt to Manyalibo and Masisi. Cephu responded that Balekimito was not his mother, and this was the trap into which he had been led. By saying this he disclaimed membership of the hearth, and so his theft became more logical but his act even more reprehensible. Finding himself now both a thief and an outsider, Cephu broke down and offered to return all the meat he had caught. The hunters went with him and stripped not only his hut but those of the three other families in Cephu's camp, leaving Cephu complaining that he would die.

That evening, however, Masisi slipped over in the dark with a peace offering of cooked food[4] and not long afterward Cephu made his way to the *kumamolimo* and joined in the singing for his "mother," Balekimito. This was one of the very rare occasions when a dispute was ended by what might be considered as direct retributive and punitive action by the band.

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[224] 10. This is not to say that theft of food never takes place. It would be a rare Mbuti woman who did not conceal a portion of the catch in case she was forced to share with others, and occasionally a bachelor like Pepei, with a reputation for being somewhat *wazi-wazi*, was caught stealing a small quantity of food from a cooking pot or from

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[182] [4] Prestation is an important though unformalized part of Mbuti life, and a major means of establishing social relationships. Any property except the most personal items, such as used bark cloth, bows and spears, are likely to change hands, and even these personal items may be offered or sought.

754 11. Sau was the mother of Amabosu, who had exchanged sisters
578 with Ekianga. Sau was regarded by the villagers as a dangerous witch,
a role she filled with zeal and which the Mbuti found useful in two
ways. It provided them with a scapegoat in the forest just as it was a
handy excuse for any misadventure in the village. In either situation
the latent dramatic possibilities appealed enormously to the old lady's
histrionic susceptibilities. One day Sau asked the wife of Mbaaka, a
[535] nephew of Njobo, for some food. She was refused. That night she
did a little dance in front of Mbaaka's hut, her usual way of showing
• [224] her displeasure. The next day, on the hunt, Masisi's son was about to
run in bare-handed to catch a sharp-toothed *sindula* (chevrotain), but
Amabosu persuaded him to take his spear. He did so, and then collided
with Mbaaka, spearing him in the side.

There was actually some bad feeling between Amabosu and
Mbaaka, and in case this was brought up (making it seem that
Amabosu had deliberately caused his injury) the discussion of the
incident was quickly turned to the refusal of Mbaaka's wife to give
Sau food. She thus became the prime target for blame, with Sau acting
as a secondary scapegoat, being criticized for dancing her "bad
578 dance" outside Mbaaka's hut. In case anyone should take it too seriously,
522 Manyalibo promptly started making fun of Sau's dance, flapping
626 his hands to imitate Sau's pendent breasts. This was taken up by
the children, who would not be content until Sau herself gave a demonstration.

626 That evening several hunters stood in midcamp[6] and said what a
683 good camp it was, and commented on the good hunting. No further
648 word was said about the spearing, except in the village, where the
571 respective *kpara* went to the tribunal to effect reconciliation (between
608 themselves) and blood payment. Amabosu's *kpara* agreed to pay sixty
[186] francs to Mbaaka's *kpara*, Masisi's *kpara* paying only forty. This news
caused great hilarity in the camp, and the comment that villagers were
626 animals, always "eating" each other. Between the Mbuti themselves I
683 could find no evidence of blood payment of any kind, though any
incident involving the drawing of blood is bound to provoke discus-

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[685] failure to share in time of need is considered a far greater crime than is petty (i.e., individual)
[157] theft.
[421]
[6] The importance of the "midcamp" position is that it defines the viewpoint of the
[621] person talking. An individual talking from his own hearth talks as an individual. If he
talks from midcamp he is taking a band rather than an individual point of view. Similarly
[156] the *kumamolimo* is central, but more restricted in area and viewpoint, being used as a
vantage point to discuss with the whole band matters pertaining to the *molimo*.

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had either given in or had actually encouraged Ekianga, and Amabosu 578
had supported her. This brought a mild cry of protest from 626
Amabosu, and hearing it Arobanai rounded on him and asked him 593
whether or not he was an Mbuti, for he had not behaved like one.
What did it matter whether he was out of the same stomach as Kamaikan [601]
or not, were they not all *apua'i* (the term of friendship that
covers brothers, sisters and age mates)? And was it not more important
whether something was right or wrong than whose stomach
who came from?

Finding this an unexpectedly dramatic declaration, and one which
made Moké visibly sit up, and almost certainly feeling somewhat
fatigued, Arobanai suddenly stopped and brightly said that she was
going to get some sleep, the rest could do as they pleased. As she
strode into her hut Moké came over and stirred at the central fire.
Not addressing anyone in particular he said that this thing had gone
on long enough, and that he did not want to hear another word about
it. He said that if disputes continued they would kill the camp completely [778]
and absolutely, that the forest would refuse to accept the [224] •
band and would send all its hunts back empty. And what Ekianga did [843]
was a matter for him to think about, for if he continued sleeping
with Kamaikan it would almost certainly kill their child, and that
would again displease the forest. He ended by saying, still staring carefully [778]
at the fire, "It is no longer a matter for us, it is a matter for the
forest."

20. A month or so later Kamaikan's young son became ill. Arobanai 755
was not in the camp at the time, but Loku was. Nobody mentioned 595
Moké's warning that the boy would become ill if Ekianga continued 578
sleeping with Kamaikan (as he did), and Amabosu was shouted down 304
when he appeared about to say something to this effect. He changed [843]
his mind and went over to Loku, and said that she was to blame; [754]
she would have to cure the child by cicatrizing it. In the village this is
tantamount to an accusation of sorcery, cicatrization being an admission
of unknowing guilt by which the accused at the same time absolves
himself and does all that is possible to negate the curse. The
Mbuti know the belief and the custom, and sometimes, as in a case
like this, they follow the custom without following the belief. Loku
put up the expected resistance to the idea, and Amabosu chased her
with a stick. The youths and hunters followed the show with enjoyment,
and Manyalibo made jokes about nobody daring to come near
him because he was the biggest sorcerer of all. Eventually Loku

685 34. During a hunt Ekianga's unmarried niece, Ekimanji, had
[224] charge of his two spears and lost these together with her own basket,
[462] full of meat. Her story was that she was standing about, waiting for the rest to join up after a beat, when she had to answer a call of nature. She went a few yards away, and on return found the two spears and the basket gone. She called out, and Masalito, who was nearby, came running over. She asked him to stand there while she went and searched, which she did. She could find no traces. He also searched, and neither could he. It then began to rain and they returned to camp.

The next day the hunt went back to the spot and searched all over but found nothing. They even repeated the hunt in the same spot, casting the nets and beating toward them. Nobody offered any suggestions as to what could have happened, other than that they must have been taken. Not a single individual was hinted at directly or
[186] indirectly. One of the hunters suggested it was a villager, for Mbuti
[183] don't steal, but everyone knew that no villager was anywhere about
in the forest during the hunt. However, the explanation, weak as it was, was better than none and, if not accepted, it was certainly not denied. The matter was not mentioned again.

578 DISPUTES CONCERNING THE VILLAGE

*177 35. It might be thought that the village would be a common source
186 of dispute. Far from being so, the village most frequently occurs in
436 disputes as above, as a means of ending a dispute without settling
[621] the blame on any Mbuti and thus hastening the process of fission.
Even money is assimilated into the forest pattern of distribution of food, insofar as it is ever brought into the forest (see 29, above). The only real dispute over money in my records was because the money was received for a spear which had been stolen from one villager and sold back to another, and it was difficult to assess the correct apportionment of the "game" (a hundred francs) between the "hunters."

*177 The village, however, was often being blamed for ill health, and
186 with frequent justification, for sanitation, which was no problem for
[753] the Mbuti in the forest, was a major one in the village. The village
[514] also frequently took the blame for poor hunting, particularly if some
[224] individual or some group in the band (e.g., the women who did not
beat) seemed to be genuinely to blame.

*177 One dispute of major proportions, and one of the few which occasioned
439 direct action, did, however, have its cause in the village. The

village itself was being pressed by the administration to increase its 177*
productivity at the same time that it was being pressed to supply the 439
administration with more labor. In turn the villagers tried to press
the Mbuti into supplying them with more food. Accustomed to a bare [517]
subsistence economy, the Mbuti could never quite see the necessity, [778]
nor did they altogether feel it was right or that it would be pleasing
to the forest. Their belief, as far as I could determine, was not so [224]
much that they would be punished by the forest, but rather that the
hunt would "be closed," that they would not get the unlawful surplus,
that they might not even get enough for themselves.

To counter this the villagers offered divers kinds of medicine[9] for 789
use in the forest, and agreed to make even more powerful medicine 439
in the village. Sometimes the villagers offer to come into the forest, 177*
with a ritual specialist, to make medicine. The Mbuti tend to allow
this, as it is profitable to them. Occasionally, however, the habit
lingers, and whether or not *anjo* was originally a village or an Mbuti
custom, it is now considered as a village trick, and disliked as such.
Anjo is made by taking an antelope horn and filling it with a paste [237]
made from special parts of the antelope, charred black. This paste
is then applied with a stick to the body of the hunter, to convey to [825]
him the senses of the animal. [224]

This custom could sit perfectly well among the archers, where 789
hunting is on a more individual basis. But among the net-hunters 157
its use was taken as a sign of desire for personal gain above communal 224
gain. On one occasion, when the hunting was not particularly good, [184]
anjo horns were rounded up from all over the camp, eight in all, and destroyed in the central fire. There was some protest from the owners, but not much. It was generally agreed that this made everyone the same, and that was how things should be.

From all the above, and from the rest of the disputes recorded in 627
my notes, totalling 124, not counting the petty daily squabbles of no 126
apparent import other than as an indication of bad temper, one of the most significant features is the small number of cases in which any

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[9] Among these medicines is that encouraged by the Arab slave traders in search of ivory, specifically to give success in the elephant hunt. Known as *esumba, ishumba,* and divers other spellings, it is sometimes confused with a love medicine of the same name, and even more frequently with the *molimo* of the Mbuti, the word *essumba* or *lusumba* being used to describe the Mbuti *molimo* when speaking in KiNgwana, language of the Arabized Bantu tribe. It is perfectly possible that the two practices became intermingled, both, from the Mbuti point of view, being concerned with the pleasure of the forest. [192]

628

582 porarily, and is considerably easier to arrange than a reluctant marriage.
583 It can be seen, then, that the kinds of relationship existing
between bands for the regulation of marriage are necessarily flexible.
628 More important, marriage between bands provides a formal relationship
581 between the nuclear families concerned and so provides also a
594 basis for interfamilial exchange between those bands. To have such
182 an exchange relationship, on a familial level, is of much more importance
than wider political ties to a band which only on the rarest
of occasions may need to act in concert, as a band, with the other
band.

621 *Trespass*

• 224 Each hunting territory being economically self-sufficient, there is
131 generally no need for economic cooperation. Boundaries are frequently
natural features that restrict effectively the movement of both
the hunters and the game, so trespass is also restricted. However, if
following especially prized game, hunters will follow it across such
boundaries with little or no hesitation. It is even said that if a band's
territory is exceptionally unproductive, the band may move into a
corner of its neighbor's territory, the furthest removed from wherever
that band is camped at the time.

628 It is understood that in the case of pursuit of quarry a portion of
224 the game will be sent to the resident band. It is equally understood
that, if moving into someone else's territory, they should be notified and their permission sought. If either of these provisions is not maintained it may lead to friction, and a delegation of hunters from the offended band will visit the others in their camp, perhaps even staying with them for a few days. The question of who forms such a delegation is again largely an economic matter, for the members have to be drawn from the hunters, and the home band will obviously be unwilling to decrease its hunting efficiency to any significant extent. There is the stated possibility of a resort to fighting with wooden clubs; in one instance a few young hotheads suggested using spears, but this appeared to be more a figure of speech to indicate extreme anger, and was promptly rejected by the older hunters. I have, in any case, come across not a solitary instance of such open hostilities taking place between two bands. The visiting hunters are received with respect, and the trespassing hunters generally say that they intend to fulfill their obligations and, as a sign of good faith, offer to send out a hunt so their visitors can bring meat back to their band. If the host

If the host band insists that the others leave their territory, this will be done, but such action is rare, for it creates a barrier against interfamilial exchange. 628 224 [602]

If there is exceptionally good hunting in one territory and poor in another, and the bands are each small, they may temporarily join as one band. If they decide to cooperate in pursuit of a special hunt, this is achieved in much the same way that segments of a single band rejoin after the honey season. Indeed, during the honey season (among the net-hunters), each section of the band thinks and moves in terms of its specific section of the band territory, and if feelings run high between sections, infringement of section boundaries is considered just as much trespass as if it had occurred between two bands. In the same way that such segments, at the end of the honey season, gradually camp closer to each other, so two bands wishing to cooperate may approach each other. 628 224 221 621

Instances of cooperation, however, are even more rare than instances of trespass, and even though both may be regarded as formal, there is no special mechanism for dealing with them, and their influence in determining relationships between bands is negligible. 628

Interfamily Exchange

Although the above two areas of contact and interband relationship may be considered as formal, being institutionalized to at least some extent, there being a recognizable process of relationship though the outer form changes with the context, neither area is of as much effectiveness, in extent or degree, in determining interband relationships as the persistence with which families exchange visits. But such visits are so utterly unpredictable and circumstantial that there is not even the small amount of discernible process to be seen in the other areas. Whereas negotiations concerning betrothal or trespass at least involve recognizable elements of each band and act in response to a given stimuli, there is no saying when any given family, or how much of it, is going to decide to pack up and visit friends or relatives in another band. Nor do the families themselves generally express any other reason than that their "heart" wants it. No interference is offered by the rest of the band; indeed, there is generally no comment at all, unless their absence becomes prolonged beyond the duration of one camp—approximately a month. 628 602 574

The reasons for which a family might move out of one band and into another, for a temporary visit, are many and varied. Some have [621] [591] [594]

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P
789
771 the power believed in. There is not a solitary instance to show the
121 belief in a malevolent power against which protection must be sought.
P This is plainly different from village magic, which is essentially prag-
C
789 matic and not in any way related to a central value system. We
771 showed earlier (pp. 53–62) how magic does not provide a means by
121 which the villagers can control the Mbuti. By a comparison of the
two systems of magic we can see in effect how clearly they indicate
major value differences despite initial outward similarities. In particu-
P lar, the Mbuti attitude to the forest as a benevolent central value in
[778] their lives can be seen, and while in village magic we see only the lack
C
[754] of such a central value, when we examine witchcraft and sorcery we
see its exact polar opposite.

And it will be remembered how (pp. 57–59) the Mbuti recognize
the difference in attitudes toward magic, and put it to good use. The
C
[186] villagers regard Mbuti culture as impoverished in all respects, and
the lack of the magic so abundant in village life is part of their argu-
P ment. In making this lack of magic an excuse for the allegedly poor
• [224] hunting that has deprived their *kpara* of meat, the Mbuti turn the
[439] situation nicely to their advantage, and turn the argument of the
villagers against them. Thus although village magic and forest magic
are different and distinct, the areas overlap in such a way as to deepen
the opposition between the two worlds.

C
WITCHCRAFT

754 With witchcraft the situation is different, for this is something pe-
563 culiar to the village world. Earlier (pp. 59–60) we showed some of the
186 ways in which village witchcraft (often confused by the Mbuti with
P
*177 sorcery) impinges on forest life. Again, the villagers regard the lack
754 of witchcraft in Mbuti culture as a sign of cultural poverty, and in
their own belief in the power of witchcraft they seek to use it in their
constant struggle to impose some kind of control over the hunters.
However, the Mbuti again make use of the village belief in witch-
craft for their own ends, using it as a means of escape from situations
in which they would otherwise be culpable and stand to lose a good
exchange relationship.

P In their own forest world, however, witchcraft plays no part, except
*177 insofar as it is recognized as a useful device for deflecting blame, and
754 is thus occasionally used, tongue in cheek, to resolve a dispute. As
626 indicated in the foregoing chapter, the prime objective in the settle-

*177 use of the village fear and respect for forest spirits, but it also makes
538 use of the village love for asserting their superiority and their pater-
776 nalism. It even makes use of the village concept of kinship obligations,
186 and the respect and obedience owed to a grandmother.

538 The occasion on which the legend was told was the return of
439 Cephu to the camp, after a short absence in the village, laden down
with village foods. It was known that he had gone empty-handed, and it was equally known that he was not on good enough terms with any of the villagers to get such a handout for nothing, that he was too lazy to have worked for reward and too wary of pursuit to steal. However, theft seemed the only answer, so he was asked from whom he had
[157] stolen the food. Always a great dramatist, Cephu told the following
story in answer, and it quickly became a favorite.

539 "I am only a poor Mbuti; the forest is my father and my mother.
•224 But my village master asked me for meat, so I hunted and I hunted
[251] and I hunted. I caught *sondu* and *lendu* and *mboloko* and *sindula*,
and I cut them all up and dried them carefully. When they were nice and dry I wrapped the meat in fresh *mongongo* leaves and put it all in my basket and set off for the village."

[186] This much everyone knew to be completely false, but the implied
ridicule of the villagers who would believe it was not lost.

539 "But on the way I saw a bad spirit coming toward me. I tried to
776 escape but he caught up with me and demanded the meat. I said,
'No, this is for my master. I cannot give it to you. You may take all my own food, but not this meat—that is for my beloved master.' But the spirit was not to be put off, and I had to fight with him. Finally I managed to escape because I am strong, and a great hunter, and I ran on toward the village as fast as I could. Spirits are very bad things to fight. They would kill any villager; only we Mbuti can deal with them. But then I saw the spirit again, and this time he was more clever than I, and he changed into my grandmother.

" 'A'i, Cephu, where are you going with all that meat?' she asked me.

"Now, my grandmother died many years ago and I had to be polite to her. So I told her I was taking it to my beloved master. But she got angry and demanded it, asking if I would refuse it to her, an Mbuti, my own grandmother, and bring it to a villager. I pleaded with her and begged her, telling her how good my master always was to me and how hungry he was for meat. But she snatched the basket from me,

776 but everyone agreed that it was a clear indication that he should try.
828 He became the leading trumpet singer, then, not through divine
169 choice but simply through his experience in the *keti* world. He was
534 not regarded as more spiritual, merely as more experienced. However,
776 insofar as both Mbuti and *keti* derive their *pepo* from the forest, if
778 the forest wills them to hunt together in the same time and place
• [224] then the mirror images coincide exactly and it is, indeed, a "strong" hunt. Such coincidence is exhausting, however, and it is not something actively wished for except, possibly, in times of particularly poor hunting. Ideally the Mbuti and the *keti* should follow each other closely, but always remain just slightly apart.

778 BORU

761 A rather difficult concept of the "house" (*endu*—the same word as
826 for a hut) inhabited by *pepo*. The human and animal body of flesh
[192] and blood is, in a sense, *boru*, and so is the invisibility of the *keti*. It is a term seldom used, but the concept affords a firm basis for a code of respect for the body, abuse or mutilation of which may drive away the *pepo*, causing "death" (which for the Mbuti is simply the departure of *pepo* and its return to the forest or the world of *keti*). Thus physical violence as a means of settling a dispute is abhorred as a sacrilege. A sound thrashing is perfectly in order, but any violence that produces blood causes an opening through which *pepo* may escape. For although associated with air and wind and thus with breath, it is not thought of as *being* any of these things, and its exact means of escape is unknown. The bodily apertures are all regarded as re-
778 quiring attention, however, as possible avenues. It might be pointed
761 out here that insofar as *pepo* is associated with life and may escape
826 through these apertures, this is perfectly consistent with the Mbuti
831 recognition of the sexual act as a means of conveying life, though they
do not explicitly refer to semen as *pepo*. It is also consistent with the
[535] variations on the sexual act found in the *ekokomea* dance, where not
only are the sexes reversed but attention is drawn to the less usual
[765] apertures, to be somewhat delicate. The role of *ekokomea* as a major feature of the death festival becomes immediately more understandable, its burlesque form allowing for the stated antipathy of the Mbuti to the unproductive forms of sexual perversion *ekokomea* so graphically depicts.

ful analysis by competent musicologists.[6] As described, the above 533
divisions represent divisions recognized by the Mbuti, and visible in
differences of musical form. There is sometimes an additional category 533
stated, that of the elephant-hunting song, which seems to overlap 224 •
both the ordinary hunting song (specifically referred to by the Epulu
Mbuti as a net-hunting song) and the *molimo* song. In view of the [825]
possible elephant symbolism in the *molimo* festival, this could be of [765]
importance, though not enough is known at the moment of the elephant-hunting
song to properly assess its position in the system. In
this respect it should also be remembered that the Ngwana term
esumba, or *lusumba*, frequently used by the Mbuti in the forest context
as synonymous with their *molimo*, was originally for the
Ngwana in the nature of elephant-hunting magic.

All songs share the same essential nature, sharing the same power 533
of sound. The sound "awakens" the forest, in Mbuti terminology, 822
and the nature of the song indicates the particular area of interest of 778
the Mbuti at that moment, thus attracting the forest's attention to
the immediate needs of its children. It is also of the essential nature
of all songs that they should be "pleasing to the forest."[7]

Rather more magical in nature, perhaps, is the way the Mbuti use 822
other forms of sound than song. A sudden noise of any kind is considered [201]
"strong," and generally bad; an isolated hand or arm clap, or
a single loud shout, will bring complete silence to a camp or to a hunt. [198]
Whistling is considered very "strong" indeed, but here the word [192]

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[6] It is interesting to note here the elephant-hunting significance of the Ngwana [765]
esumba ritual, and the linguistic confusion between *esumba* and *molimo*. Frequently,
I have seen in the forest the remains of what seems like the model of a spear-fall, and have always been told that a *molimo* had been held there. Most often such sites were in old, deserted camps, once or twice (particularly in archer territory) on the trail.

[7] Pahlen (1949) gives an excellent general background to the primitive concept and use of music, though his acceptance of the sounds of nature as symbols of supernatural powers is not demonstrated. He points out (p. 18) how in ancient cultures music went hand in hand with religion, "the synthesis of wisdom, beauty, kindness and solace." He is referring primarily to countries with "highly developed cultures," but much of what he says is applicable to primitive society. It is certain that an acute analysis of Mbuti music would reveal much that parallels the structure of Mbuti society. The extraordinary level of polyphonic achievement is surely related to a highly developed individualism that would hardly tolerate the confines of unison. The Mbuti musical categories of *berai* and *imiai*, chorus and solo song, indicate a system of recognized relationships between the group and the individual, and the technique of *hoquet*, already mentioned, further mirrors social relationships. Such considerations, however, should not obscure Pahlen's major point that music also mirrors social values. It is an analytical tool, requiring little musical training, that has been much neglected by anthropologists, and it is hoped that a systematic analysis of Mbuti music now being undertaken at Columbia University will provide data from which not only may further light be shed on Mbuti society, but from which may emerge the beginnings of an ethno-musicological methodology.

THE LESSER MOLIMO (*molimo madé*)

• 224 Apart from death there are two major crisis areas over which the
Mbuti may have little or no effective control, poor hunting and sickness.
But they do have a certain amount of control, and it is frequently
effective. Poor hunting is more often than not remedied
simply by hunting elsewhere, and it is rare that a band goes hungry
752 for any reason except laziness. Against sickness the Mbuti have many
757 remedies that are plainly effective. In particular they know how to
clean open wounds and prevent infection, they know how to set and
mend broken limbs, they know how to reduce fevers, and they know
how to alleviate minor ailments such as headache, toothache and mild
stomach disorders. They also have effective remedies against snakebite.
So in case of sickness they either cure the patient, or else the patient
becomes well of his own accord, or else he dies, the latter event
leading to the greater *molimo*.

778 In such crises, then, time alone usually provides a solution, and the
[224] Mbuti are accustomed to waiting for these situations to improve. If
[75] bad hunting persists, however, or sickness shows no sign of alleviation,
then it becomes a matter "of the forest." There is no rite or
778 ceremony, but in the evenings the men gather around a central fire
796 and sing *molimo* songs, thereby attracting the attention of the forest
533 to their plight. The songs do not convey any specific request from the
[782] Mbuti for the betterment of their condition, it being considered necessary
only to awaken the forest, for then it is for the forest to act as it
will. Being benevolent, like a parent, whatever it does is accepted as
being good, though it may not be understood.

796 Normally a lesser *molimo* lasts for only a few days, for during that
time there is likely to be a change in the situation that is taken as an
indication that the forest has awakened. The evening songs are not
[533] accompanied by any of the preliminaries that mark the greater *molimo*,
[535] nor are the women and children quite so rigorously excluded, and
[765] there is not the same order of dancing, which in the greater *molimo*
is of the utmost importance. In the lesser *molimo* the dancing will
be done by youths only, and be casual and mildly erotic. Above all
there will be no use made of the *molimo* trumpet.

All adults youths and men are expected to take part, and although
[626] there will be criticism if someone does not attend, there will not be
the same violent reaction that there is against such offenders in the
greater molimo.

greater *molimo*. In the case of a hunting *molimo*, the initiative is 796
taken by the younger hunters, who sit together around a fire and simply [533]
begin singing. In the case of sickness, the initiative is taken by the adult men of the family concerned if the sick person is a child, and if the sick person is an adult the *molimo* will be initiated by his or her male age mates.

The hunting inevitably gets better sooner or later, and the lesser [224]
molimo, once begun, will continue until it does. But sickness may [76]
develop into death, in which case there will be an immediate change of camp, following an uncomplicated and informal burial, and the commencement of the greater *molimo*.

THE GREATER *MOLIMO* (*molimo mangbo*) 765

In a previous account (Turnbull, 1960, pp. 307–340), the general procedure of the greater *molimo* was outlined, and it was indicated that there is no set rule as to when a greater *molimo* should be held. Certainly it is not held for every death within the band, not even for every adult death. It may, on the other hand, be held for a child. It is [828]
largely a question of *roho*, and this is determined by a number of considerations such as the nature of the death, the importance of the deceased to the band, and the general tenor of life in the band at that moment, particularly the condition of hunting. A combination of [778]
poor hunting and ill humor and general sickness, associated with the death of a child, even of a stranger child temporarily within the band, may well occasion a *molimo*, for the total combination indicates that the forest is "sleeping" (*é langé toro*). On the other hand, the death of a great hunter, through his own fault or through sickness but at a time of good hunting and general contentment, may pass unmarked except by the usual summary burial and change of camp, all expression of grief being confined to the immediate family concerned.

One other consideration not without importance is the fact that whoever initiates a *molimo* festival undertakes a responsibility that may become a burden. He has to see that everyone cooperates in providing [261]
food, and when, as sometimes happens, the response is meager, he has somehow to provide enough himself for the society's evening repast. As a greater *molimo* is not likely to last under a month, except possibly for a child under circumstances which otherwise become quickly improved, the economic burden is one to cause careful consideration.

602 561 121 If we forget the usual genealogical associations of kinship and think in a strictly classificatory manner, we do have here an institutionalization of a kinship relationship and the beginnings of a kinship system, for we have already seen the vital importance of age in determining one's realm of activity and responsibility among the Mbuti, and how each of the four levels of *apua'i* act together in distinction from the other levels. But there seems little point in persisting any further with the term "kinship system" in this instance unless we define kinship so as to contradict its very fundamental significance in the more highly structured societies. With the Mbuti we are dealing with kith rather than kin, and the terminological division of the society into four age levels is best thought of as completely divorced from kinship except, and it is a vital exception, insofar as the nuclear family, and the ideal relations that should pertain among its members, are taken as the model relationships for the band. With this in mind, let us examine other relationships implicit in the terminology.

601 561 562 It is noticeable that the terminology distinguishes age levels, and only distinguishes between the sexes at the parental level (*ema* and *eba*). Children, siblings and grandparents (in their widest classificatory sense) are considered without emphasizing any male/female polarity. Sex differentiation can be made, and where necessary this is done, but only in the same rather roundabout way in which any genealogical connection can be traced. In order to differentiate an *apua'i* who is merely a friend from one who is a uterine brother, one has to add the expression "from one stomach" to designate the latter. Similarly, one can add the terms designating male or female to any term of address or reference except that of mother or father, where it is not needed.[2]

562 462 This avoidance of sex differentiation is consistent with the interdependence between the sexes that is so characteristic of Mbuti economic life, and with the egalitarianism that exists between them in the realm of government. A woman is in no way the social inferior of a man, and there is little absolute division of labor along sex lines. • [224] [222] Among the net-hunters in particular, and among the archers during the *begbe* beat-hunt, cooperation between the sexes during the hunt

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[193] [2] I have come across instances where a vowel or consonant change has been said to indicate the sex differential (as happens in some Sudanic Languages), such as *tata* and *taté* for male and female grandparent, *apua'i* and *amud'i* for male and female sibling, but there was no consistency in the practice. Wherever it was necessary to make the difference, there was need for stress, and this was in any case better achieved by the more dramatic addition of *moko* or *kali*. At the level where this most frequently is done, a male child would thus be distinguished from a female child: *miki a moko, miki a kali.*

is essential, and gathering, though done mostly by women, may also 562
be done by men when opportunity affords. Perhaps the most significant 462
activity that is generally performed by women is that of house- [224]
building. The only men I have seen build their own houses have been [222]
bachelors or widowers, and even then they will frequently get women [342]
to do this for them. The woman builds the house; she has the final say
in selecting the site. She is in charge of the family hearth, where the
cooking is done and around which the family eats and sleeps. Her [592]
husband may eat with other men at the central hearth, so the family
fire may be said to be of major importance to her and her children.
And it is precisely at the parental level that the personal terminology
differentiates the sexes.

Looking for significant differences in attitudes and relationships 593
between a child and its mother and father, it is plain that the mother 262
is regarded as the source of food, despite the fact that the father is the prime force in the hunt. It might be worth mentioning again here that vegetable foods (entirely discounting village influence) form the bulk of any forest diet, and their nutritive value is probably equal at least to that of the game consumed. In any case, the father gives the game and any vegetables he may have gathered to his wife, who cooks
the food and distributes it. A hungry child looks to any one of his [602]
classificatory mothers for food, not to his fathers. His most likely
chance of finding it will be at the hearth of his nuclear family, but any mother is under as strong an obligation to feed him as the mother from whose stomach he came.

There is no doubting the difference in the emotional connotations 601
of *ema* and *eba*, differences that are not found to exist in attitudes to 152
the sexes at other age levels. *Ema* (mother) is associated with love 778
(*ekondi*); *eba* (father) is associated with authority (*mota*). We have [593]
referred a number of times to the habit of the Mbuti addressing the forest as *ema* and *eba*, and although I can adduce no body of evidence to indicate on what occasions it is addressed by which term, it would seem to reflect the attitude of the individual at the moment of address, and the frequency with which the forest is addressed, as both indicate something of great importance in understanding the Mbuti value system, upon which social order so largely depends. The forest is not only the provider, it is also the ruler; it is to be regarded with affection and respect, and under all circumstances to be trusted.[3]

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[3] Schebesta (1952, 340) asserts: "*Les noms attribués à Dieu relèvent de deux catègories. Ou bien on l'invoque simplement sous ceux d'*afa, bapapa, odu . . . *père, grand-*

621 value (though an individual generally knows and therefore feels at
[591] home in one territory more than in others) so much as a group value.
[181] The stated concern of the Mbuti is not to perpetuate lineage but to
[101] perpetuate the band, and bands are not only defined but named by
[103] territory. Individual camps are given specific names according to their locality. *Apa toangbe* is the camp under the *toangbe* trees; *apa* Lelo is the camp by the Lelo River, and so forth. It is significant that when referring to another band it is generally referred to by its current camp name, or the last camp name known, rather than by the more general name by which its whole hunting territory is known. This implies a recognition of the changeability of the composition of the band, and an emphasis on what the band is at any given moment, defined by the particular part of its territory it is hunting at the moment.

621 Practical considerations of territory are that birth in a territory
131 conveys the right to hunt with that band throughout life, and it generally
[224] conveys a sentimental attachment to the territory that may
[602] well act as a stabilizing factor. Cognatic or affinal relationships may
[628] be utilized to acquire the right to hunt in other territories, but one then becomes a member, if temporary, of the band in which one is hunting.[4] But it is when one widens the concept of territory, so that it implies more than a mere area defined by boundaries, that the notion acquires its most fundamental importance. As a definable area it is of economic and political significance in providing the framework within which hunting by different bands can take place without danger of shortage or need for conflict; it is also of social significance in providing a symbol of band unity, and the promise of continuity. But
[192] the term used by the Mbuti for territory is the same word used for forest, *ndura*. Regarded in this light, territory assumes vastly added significance.

621 When an Mbuti says "This is our forest" ("*Nde ndura ndasu*"),
[186] he may be defining the territory of the band in which he is a current member, or he may be defining the Mbuti as against the villagers.
[222] Alternatively, if in the honey season among the net-hunters, he may
[131] be defining the territory in which his particular subsection of the band

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[574] [4] This again is an example of different degrees of kin relationship being recognized but not made explicit, because explicit recognition would alter the distance between the individuals and so disturb the *apua'i* relationship. Once in the new camp, the visitor is assimilated into the age-level system of that band regardless of the nature of his kin relationships. In giving his reasons for making the visit, either to his own band or to the band he is visiting, an Mbuti will not spell out the relationship but will most likely use the personal name, coupled perhaps with the appropriate generational term. The term alone would plainly not indicate clearly enough whom he was going to visit.

[P.276-C]

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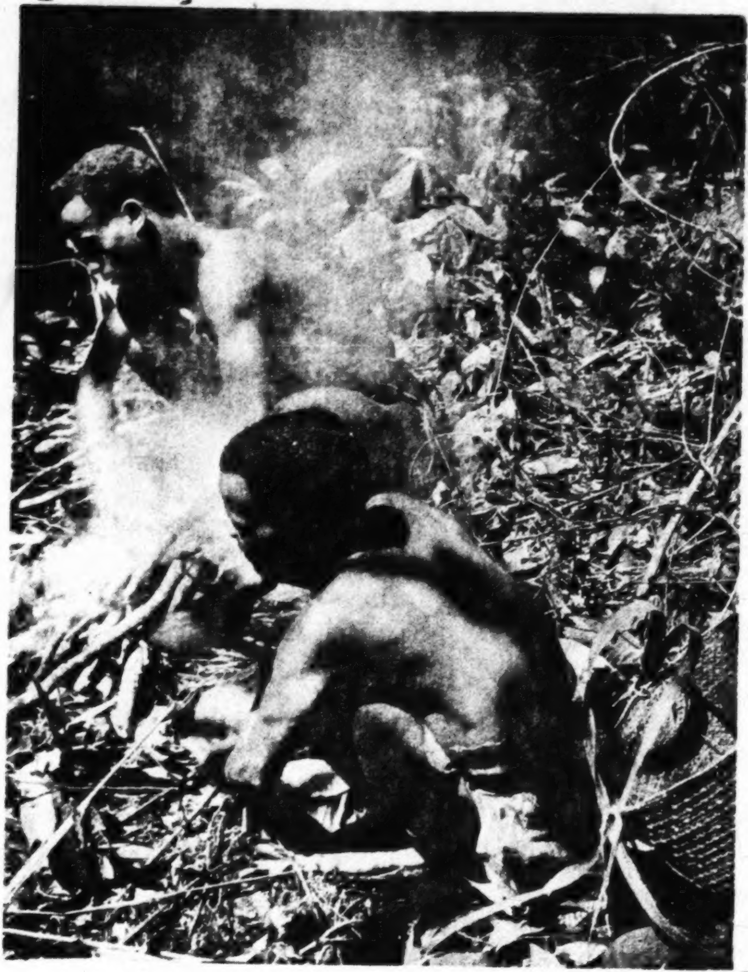
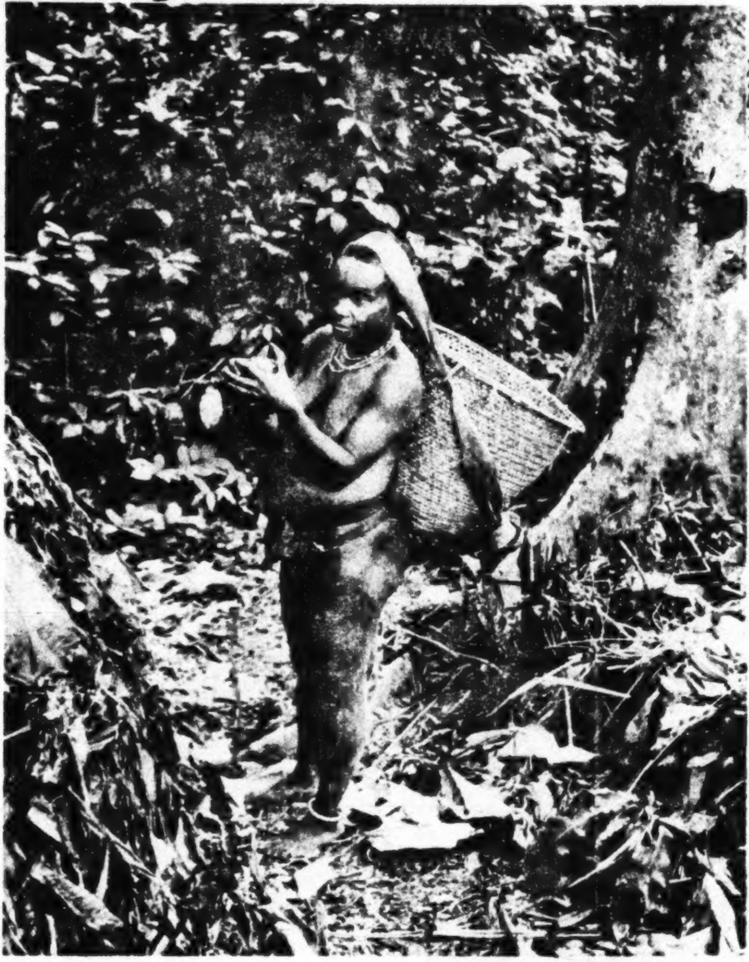


29. A hunting fire is lit to announce to the forest that the hunt is setting out. Hunters on their way will pass by, but no special ritual is performed.

[224]

30. The hunt sets off, well camouflaged against the leafy background. The men and youths

[P. 276- E]



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31. Cephu's wife, carrying an ember of the family hearth wrapped in fire-resistant leaves, and with her carrying basket on her back, sets off after the hunt. She will act as a beater with the other women and children, and will gather wild foods on the way.

[224]
[462]
[222]

[P.276-F]

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[184]

32. Masisi stops on his way to the hunt to try for a monkey in the treetops. For net-hunters the bow and arrow is only an incidental means of food-getting. As seen here, poisoned arrows are preferred to those with metal tips provided by the villagers.

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[882]

33. Two youths, armed with spears, carry their fathers' hunting nets. They will not have nets of their own until they are married but may, on occasion, take the place of their fathers on the hunt.

2: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1965 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

[P.276-G]

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34. A youth, recently initiated, is still considered far from manhood in the forest. Here he helps an older brother set up the net.

[881]
[885]
[593]

[P.276-H]

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35. When an animal falls into the net it is quickly caught by the hunters and carefully extracted before it damages the netting. A youth stands by for the kill.

114 patterns produce "features typical of the patrilineal band," for the
182 patterns differ from group to group, and within each group from one
621 time of the year to the next. At one time or another, each group, net-hunters
or archers, will be able to present bands that resemble patrilineal
units; at other times the same bands will be utterly nonlineal,
even though the exploitative pattern may not have changed.

182 Nonetheless, the environment itself does play a vital structural
role, and while not necessarily determining the exploitative activity,
or the dependence of the Mbuti upon it, is determinant of their value
[778] system so long as that dependence is felt. For, feeling that way, regarding
the forest as *ema* the provider, and as *eba* the ruler, believing
that any deviation from the way of life ordained for them by the
forest would be fatal, the Mbuti effect what control they can over
their lives by a constant effort to "rejoice the forest."

183 Conceiving that the forest is intelligent, the Mbuti conceive that it
778 is like them, and consequently the ideal that they hold for themselves
[621] is the ideal they attribute to the forest. While age and territory are
effective in organizing the band, dividing it into significant units,
binding it together as a whole, and determining the general nature of
interpersonal relationships, the territory enlarged into the forest seen
as mother and father acts as the ultimate sanction of all behavior.
There are certain recognized forms of behavior that lead to a "good"
band, and others that lead to a "bad" band. The appropriate positive
and negative sanctions are formulated in such a way that all actions
are either pleasing to the forest—leading to the ideal of *ekimi*, or
quietness—or displeasing to the forest, leading to *akami*, or noise.
(*Ekimi* and *akami* are, in practice, essential elements in determining
the success or failure of the hunt.)

183 Thus it is recognized that cooperation is essential for the success
577 of the hunt, so it is stated that laziness and aggressiveness and disputatiousness
778 are all displeasing to the forest, leading to *akami* (as
indeed they do). The *akami* is their own reward, for *akami* destroys
[157] the hunt and "kills" the Mbuti. On the contrary, to hunt well, to have
[224] a full stomach, to sing and dance, is to please the forest and lead to
ekimi, or "quietness," and *ekimi* in turn brings good hunting, and is
associated with singing and dancing and feasting.

577 Here is a very clear example of the closest possible association be-
778 tween religious belief and ethical behavior. The distinction made by
626 Radcliffe-Brown (1952, p. 172) between law, morality and religion,
[2] [114] upheld by legal sanctions, sanctions of public opinion, and religious

577 deavor of this kind, however, is recognized as being fraught with dif-
183 ficulty, and there is another way that is both easier and more sure,
828 for *ekimi mota* is produced by song. The process of "rejoicing the
[533] forest" is a process of creating *ekimi mota* where it does not exist,
[778] of intensifying mere *ekimi* through song.

577 The term for "rejoicing the forest" in the Epulu area is *bongisa*
183 *ndura*. In KiNgwana the verb is either *furahisa* or *ponisa*, there being
828 no precise equivalent to *bongisa*. *Furahisa* is closer to the English
192 concept of joy, involving festivity; *ponisa*, however, means to cure. The KiNgwana words are both used by the Mbuti in this context, interchangeably, and the meaning of *bongisa* lies between them, derived as it is from *bonga*, meaning good, in an all-inclusive sense.

577 Perhaps the exact connotation of "rejoicing the forest" is best de-
183 scribed by the process itself, which brings joy through joy. Singing
828 gives the Mbuti intense satisfaction. They say it makes them feel
533 good, in the sense of feeling joyful. The mood of song is joyful, even
778 when it is a *molimo* song on the occasion of death. By creating a
152 mood of joy within themselves the Mbuti convey that joy to the forest, which returns it, restoring *ekimi* or even *ekimi mota* to the camp. To describe song as mere "curing" would not quite cover the essential sharing process implied by the term *bongisa ndura*. Song is known, to the Mbuti, to have the infallible power of filling the forest with *ekimi mota*. It is sometimes described as being like the act of copulation in the moonlight, or wherever the individual talking feels that act to be the most intense and beautiful. The Mbuti say "*su bongisa ndura, ndura pisu ekimi*"—"we rejoice the forest, the forest gives us quiet." The distinction is simple, for joy is *ekimi mota*, an intensification of *ekimi*, and as such is not the norm and can only be temporary. Far more important to the Mbuti is that they should have, on a less temporary if less exalted level, the norm of *ekimi*.

533 While the forest cannot fail to be rejoiced by song, it may well,
778 for one reason or another, be displeased, as a father may be displeased with his children (a perfectly common Mbuti metaphor), and withhold *ekimi* for a long time. The fact that singing brings joy to the Mbuti, filling them with *ekimi mota*, does not mean that it is not also hard work. For the forest is not content with one song. If singing is undertaken at all, and particularly if it is undertaken for purposes of restoring lost *ekimi* (i.e., if it is to be a *molimo* festival), it
[224] must be long and continuous. After a fest of singing every night, from
shortly after dusk to an hour before sunrise, the Mbuti set off to hunt

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with excessive vigor. It would be an insult as well as *mbafu* (stu- 533
pidity) to take all the trouble to rejoice the forest by song and then 778
displease it by not having a particularly vigorous hunt. A month of 224 •
this leaves the stoutest Mbuti more than a little tired, so although
the remedy for *akami* lies in their hands, through song, at all times, P
it can be arduous and, since it is *mota*, it can be dangerous. Thus [784]
the supernatural sanction on social behavior is in no way lessened:
the Mbuti all state that the forest, in its manifestation through the
morning *molimo*, may punish and kill.

The system as described can be seen easily enough to maintain P 18
internal order, and it can also be seen well enough how it operates, as 626
an essentially forest-centered system based on age and forest values, to 778
maintain separation from a village system based on kinship and anti- C
forest values—for one of the cardinal village beliefs is not simply that [186]
the village is better than the forest, but that the forest is the source [778]
of all evil. But now we have to see how these same elements that
make for social order in the forest (the nonlineal band, age, territory,
noise and song) operate within the village framework.

Winter (1956) describes the relationship between the eastern ex- P
tension of the Mbuti, the few who live among the Amba on the 184
Uganda/Congo border, and the Amba themselves. Each group deni- 177*
grates the other's mode of existence, yet they evidently live in the 613 C
closest association with each other, in what Winter calls symbiosis. 184
More important, he describes how two Mbuti groups are fitted into 177
the Amba lineage structure, but only partially so. They are both at- 613
tached to Bulibuli lineages, each to a maximal lineage as a whole; [614]
yet they do not share full and equivalent relationships as Bulibuli C
with the other lineages of the same clan. Winter mentions that they P
stand in a joking relationship with only one of the maximal lineages. [571]

Joking relationships are generally thought of as pertaining be- [602]
tween individuals who stand in a specific relationship to each other, P C
involving both proximity and distance. The proximity is thought of 571
in terms of kinship, the distance is due to a difference, if not a con- 602
flict, of interests. The relationship can involve considerable amity 121
and mutual cooperation, but nonetheless contain elements of hos-
tility, particularly in its outer expression (Radcliffe-Brown, 1952, p.
91). The exact formularization varies from situation to situation,
tolerating or compelling joking behavior, on a symmetrical or asym- P
metrical basis. 121

The essential elements of this form of relationship are all present 177* 571

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*177 the camp is filled with *akami*—not in search of *ekimi*, but in the hopes
578 626 of doing as the hunters do, killing noise with more noise.

*177 5. SONG brings us to the crux of the opposition between Mbuti and
583 villagers, for all song in villages is by definition "empty," even if sung
181 by Mbuti, and even if, as is rarely the case, the song is strictly Mbuti
in origin. That is, while in the village the Mbuti no longer have the ultimate safeguard of being able to "rejoice the forest" through song. Even if they tried, it would be *bulé*. Song being directly associated with *ekimi*, it follows, and the Mbuti affirm, that there can be no
*177 *ekimi*, or "quiet," in the village. *Ekimi*, as stated, is the ultimate goal
181 of the Mbuti, and it is only *ekimi* that can please the forest. Visiting
• [224] the village, then, would be a treacherous act beyond reconciliation
[778] under Mbuti values if it were not for the Mbuti attitude to such
visits as being a form of hunt, for hunting is pleasing to the forest, and hunting is also associated with noise and danger, *akami* and *mota*. The rationalization may seem a feeble one, but to the Mbuti it is adequate and convenient.

*177 Thus while the more formal institutions of the band, age levels and
181 territorial affiliation, work internally to achieve stability and externally
182 to directly counteract village attempts to subordinate the Mbuti, so
439 do forest values directly counter village values, maintaining the complete separation of the two peoples. The economic exchange that takes place, while undeniably mutually convenient, may also be in part a mere recognition of territorial propinquity and of mutual opposition, a mechanism for avoiding open hostility, which would otherwise be the only possible relationship.

*177 The strongly forest-oriented value system of the Mbuti, while oper-
181 ating toward the maintenance of internal order, completely counters
186 the attempts of the villagers to assert their dominance by supernatural sanctions based on village values. But the answer to the question
[224] as to why the Mbuti go to the extreme of allowing themselves to be
[881] circumcised and initiated by the villagers may be more than that offered by the Mbuti hunting metaphor.

*177 The metaphor recalls the technique of a hunter in taking on the
181 appearance (and smell) of his quarry, of rubbing himself with a paste
186 made of the heart and brains and eyes of the animal so that he can
224 feel and think and see like his quarry. It is not a technique widely practiced, though it *is* practiced by elephant hunters, and by some archers, and by elders who are out hunting on their own. It is more

widely practiced in the mimetic hunting dances, by which it may be 177*
supposed that the dancer is trying, magically, to influence the action 18
and movement of the game. In this light the Mbuti acceptance of the 186
nkumbi seems more plausible, as a "magical" means of gaining power 224
over the villagers. It is not entirely unlike the situation described by [881]
Beattie (1960, p. 78) for Nyoro reactions to foreign powers such as [789]
Europeans, Polish expatriates, and airplanes. The Nyoro attempt was to gain some control over the situation by becoming possessed by the spirits of these foreign powers.

There may also be a certain amount of seepage of village beliefs 177*
into the Mbuti subconscious, despite the formidable structural oppo- 754
sition they have raised to all such influences. There is certainly cause to think that the village beliefs of witchcraft and sorcery, confused as they are by the Mbuti, nonetheless have for them a certain sinister ring of conviction.[9]

It is perhaps for that reason that the only plainly discernible sym- 177*
bolism evident in Mbuti ritual is concerned with life. Of all the oppo- 761
sitions between the forest and the village, such as abundance/hunger, 182
unity/disunity, moral/immoral, equal/unequal, cool/hot, song/silence, quiet/noise, the most significant are undoubtedly the last two, for silence and noise are associated ultimately with death. If the [776]
Mbuti suspect there are, in the village, supernatural powers with which they should come to terms, it is for purposes of defense. And [778]
they see their major defense in the power of their own supernatural, the forest.

Their desire is to counteract the forces of hunger, disunity, immoral- 182
ity, inequality, heat, silence and noise, forces that amount to death 761
for the Mbuti. Their focus of attention is on the preservation and con- 765
tinuation of life. The relatively simple ritual, if it can truly be called 561
that, of the *molimo* festival is supercharged with an emotional concern, a burning desire, for life. As might be expected, it reinforces [578]
those aspects of Mbuti society that require constant attention: age divisions are clearly symbolized in the three fires for the three upper age groups; the value of sharing (on nonlineal grounds!) is emphasized in the technical division of the songs, again bringing in division along age lines and demanding close cooperation; the reluctance to share is symbolized at the same time as the friction between youths

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[9] Again, a linguistic study might help greatly, not only through separating institutions and concepts that derive from different tribes, but in revealing the location of hidden areas of forest/village opposition. Unfortunately we still lack any published studies of KiNgwana, KiBira and KiLesé, let alone of the divers Mbuti groups.

MAP 6

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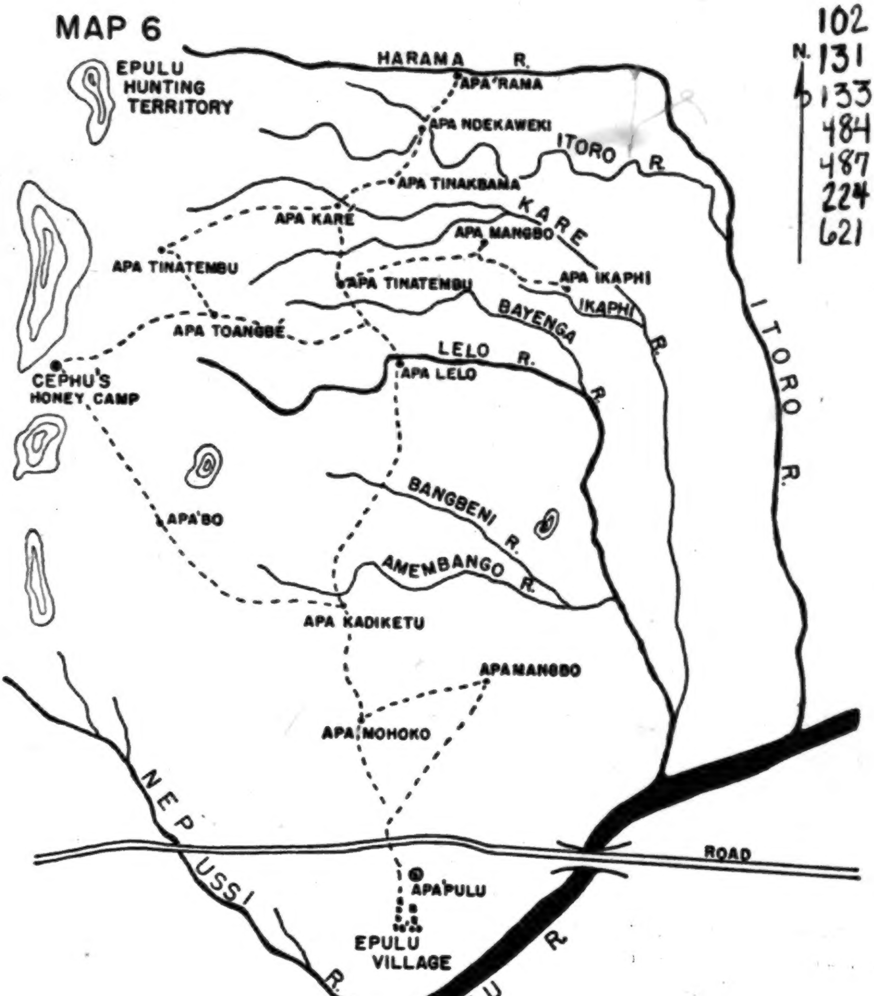
EPULU
HUNTING
TERRITORY
N.
HARAMA R.
APA'RAMA
APA NDEKAWEKI
ITORO R.
APA TINAKBANA
KARE
APA KARE
APA MANGBO
APA TINATEMBU
APA IKAPHI
APA TINATEMBU
IKAPHI R.
BAYENGA R.
APA TOANGBE
ITORO R.
LELO R.
APA LELO
CEPHU'S
HONEY CAMP
BANGBENI R.
APA'BO
AMEMBANGO R.
APA KADIKETU
APAMANGBO
APA MOHOKO
NEPUSSI R.
ROAD
APA'PULU
EPULU
VILLAGE
EPULU R.
One day's march

The Epulu hunting territory.

ing the power, small as they were, to kill elephants. The Pygmies 000
today still kill elephants single-handed, armed only with a short- 224
handled spear. And they blend so well with the forest foliage that
you can pass right by without seeing them. As for their having tails, 291
it is easy enough to see how this story came into being, if the Pyg- [175]
mies seen by the Portuguese dressed as they do today, as is more
than likely. The loincloth they wear is made of the bark of a tree,
softened and hammered out until it is a long slender cloth, tucked
between the legs and over a belt, front and back. The women par-
ticularly like to have a long piece of cloth so that it hangs down
behind, almost to the ground. They say it looks well when dancing.

Some of the accounts of nineteenth-century travelers in the Congo 175
are no less fanciful, and it was George Schweinfurth who first made known to the world, in his book *The Heart of Africa*, that Pygmies not only existed but were human. He was following in the path of the Italian explorer Miani, who a few years earlier had reached the Ituri but had died before he could return. One of the most curious of little-known stories about the Pygmies is that Miani actually sent two of them back to Italy, to the Geographic Association, which had sponsored his trip. The president of the association, Count Miniscalchi of Verona, took the two boys and educated them. Contemporary newspaper reports describe them as strolling the boulevards, arm in arm with their Italian friends, chatting in Italian. One of them even learned to play the piano. From the present Count Miniscalchi I learned that both Pygmies eventually returned to Africa, where one died and the other became a saddler in the Ethiopian army. He last heard from the latter, who must then have been an old man, just before the outbreak of World War II.

Stanley describes his meetings with the Pygmies in the Ituri, but 175
without telling us much about them, and indeed little was known 114
beyond the actual fact of their existence until a White Father, the

115 123 Pygmy and said he didn't mind. He suggested 40 francs per week,
a wage considerably below what he had been earning as a bugler.
He said that if I could afford a present when I left, that would be
fine. Pygmies have a way of letting you know when they really mean
what they say, and this was one of those times. In all the many
months that followed, Kenge never once asked me for money, beyond
his meager salary. And once when I was short of cash and we were
down in the village he spent his own savings to buy food for the two
of us.

123 In the course of my two previous trips I had come to know most
of the Pygmies in this area quite well, and the initiation had cemented
our friendship, though at the best I suspect they regarded me merely
as a rather harmless outsider. I was soon brought up to date on all
177 that happened during the past three years. Kenge said that the hunt-
[464] ing group was still hunting and gathering, but that they sometimes
[434] came down to the village and spent time there, earning money at
the Station de Chasse or at the motel, money which they promptly
spent on food, tobacco, and palm wine at the new stores. They still
brought in meat for their *BaKpara*, or "masters," and took plantation
177 foods in return. But, encouraged by the administration, they had
241 begun to make their own plantation in the forest. This was the worst
possible news; once the Pygmies have plantations their hunting-and-gathering existence is made impossible. They become tied to one
place and do not have time to follow the game.

241 156 The two busiest workers on the plantation and those who had the
[551] finest clearings were Njobo and Masisi. They were two of the most
[224] influential hunters of the group. Njobo had killed two elephants
single-handed, and two more in company with other Pygmies. He
had three wives, but had only one child, a son by his second wife.
The son, Nyange, had been a healthy lad when I had last seen him,
but now he was crippled with tuberculosis of the leg bone.

156 Masisi was a relative of Njobo's, and though not such a renowned

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The Making of Camp Lelo

484 WHEN KENGE WOKE ME the sun was not yet up, and the birds were still silent in the trees. It was three days after Balekimito's funeral, and the previous night it had been decided in a general discussion that we should all leave early in the morning and build a camp at the Lelo River, several hours' walk away.

[482] Already the Pygmy village was alive with women bundling up their household possessions in the baskets they would carry on their
[224] backs. The men were busy checking their hunting nets, examining their arrow shafts and testing their bows, or sharpening the blades of their spears. The children were running about in the semi-darkness,

484 other wives, and they left without saying a word to him. As Kamai-
595 kan squatted over the fire, fanning it until it glowed red, I saw that
she was pregnant, and I gathered from the look she cast after her
two co-wives that her condition was the cause of some jealousy in
the household.

115 Kenge delayed leaving, finding one excuse after another, until the
482 sun was up. He then admitted that he had thought it silly to leave
484 so early, when the forest was still wet and cold. He disappeared for
[513] an hour after that, and when he returned he was carrying a sleeping
[177] mat he had scrounged from a Negro (Pygmies generally sleep on
leaves or sticks), a large bunch of plantains, and a cake of scented
soap. He decided he could not carry my bundle as well as these
things, so he told me I would have to carry my own. Anyway, he
[224] said, he wanted to leave his hands as free as possible in case he saw
a bird or monkey he could shoot for dinner. He pulled the string
of his bow and let it go with a loud twang, shooting an arm out in
the direction the arrow would have gone, pointing to a tree top
where a black-and-white Colobus monkey, idly scratching its stomach,
[186] gazed down at the scene below. I heard later that Kenge considered
himself above acting as a porter; he apparently thought of that as a
job fit only for people of the village, not people of the forest. Any
self-respecting Pygmy carries his own load and no one else's.

484 When the sun was above the trees and the birds were singing and
114 the village half empty, we crossed the road and walked through the
[273] Negro settlement, stopping for a quick last drink of palm wine,
for no such luxuries are to be had in the forest. There were six of us
in all: five Pygmy youths and myself.

[481] The palm wine finished, they set off through the Negro plantations at such a pace that I almost had to run to keep up. At the edge of the plantations the forest was thick and matted, and the path entering it was narrow. The ground was still rough where saplings had been hacked off just above ground level, and on either side was

BaNgwana are the most disliked of all the neighboring Negro tribes, 481
and among the Pygmies they are derided particularly because of their 484
slow, ungainly gait, and as being the least able to walk in the forest 186
as you should be able to walk—swiftly, silently, and easily.

Kenge was full of surprises. In spite of the apparent sophistication 484
evidenced by his attachment to Western clothes and scented soap, 224
he still knew his way about the forest better than most Pygmies, and [015]
he certainly had a sharper eye for game. We stopped several times while he and another youth stalked carefully up to a tree where they had seen something. Each time they shot their arrows and stood poised on the balls of their feet, silent and motionless, only to relax and clap their hands in disgust and shake their heads as they explained to each other why they had missed. And each time all I could see of the bird or monkey was a shaking of the branches as it fled in fright.

After about two hours we came to Apa Kadiketu—the Camp of 131
Kadiketu. Nobody was sure who or what Kadiketu was, but that was 484
what the spot had always been called. This was where I had first [114]
lived in a Pygmy camp, and it was strange to pass through the same place now. There was not a sign of a hut; just the faintest outline of what had been a campsite and a slight tangle of undergrowth showing that some clearing had once been done. Kadiketu was not quite halfway to the Lelo River, and we stopped there for a few minutes to have a smoke.

But even while we were resting, squatting on our bundles, Kenge 222
and his friends were looking around. Before we left they made a [114]
quick foraging expedition and returned in as much time as it took me to hitch up my bundle and try to find some way of fastening the tump line so that it relieved my aching shoulders. A typewriter and a load of paper and notebooks wrapped up inside a thick blanket made the load awkward and heavy. Each of my companions had handfuls of mushrooms, great fluffy pink things, fresh and firm.

THE MAKING OF CAMP LELO

In the middle
of the day the sun found its way through the leaves and struck this 133
bank, and the women liked to wade out to it and do their washing [296]
there. When the river was as low as this you could wade all the way
across, if you knew where to step, but at other times a huge fallen
tree was used as a bridge.

On the far side the ground rose sharply, and though at first the [137]
forest was still open and friendly, as soon as you reached the top
of the rise it became thick and closed in around you, and the only
paths were those made by animals, narrow and twisting.

Kenge showed me all this with his chest puffed up with pride.
He told me I could drink water from any of the streams or from the [312]
Lelo itself; it was not like living in the village where both the food
and water were dirty. He showed where the women would bathe, 515
and warned me to keep upstream of the shingle bar, so as not to 834
offend them. The other youths had already stripped naked and were [123]
splashing in the water, unashamed, though in deference to an over-clad
Westerner they held their hands in front of them when they
turned to face me.

We went back to the campsite and Kenge started clearing the 554
ground. Very shortly afterward three of the great hunters arrived— 361
Njobo, the killer of elephants; Masisi, the proud father; and Manyalibo,
the gruff, good-humored conservative. They shouted a greeting
as they came into the clearing, and looking around they threw down
their hunting nets where they thought they would like to have their
houses built. Njobo chose to be just to the south of the hillock; [605]
Manyalibo and Masisi, good cousins that they were, put their nets
down beside each other, opposite. Then almost immediately they 224
disappeared into the forest, each in a different direction, each with
bow and arrows. In less than fifteen minutes Kenge, who had been
examining the tracks of a huge buffalo that had passed by the night
before, suddenly stood still and motioned me to be quiet. With his [825]
hands he mimed an antelope running and pointed into the forest
behind Manyalibo's chosen site.

224 behind Manyalibo's chosen site. Almost immediately there was a
shout from Njobo, and Kenge bounded across the camp, picking up
[516] a hunting net as he went. Not more than fifty yards away we found
Njobo standing, tense, at the end of a fallen tree, peering inside the
hollow trunk. Masisi and Manyalibo came running up through the
glade, and taking the net they quickly put it up around the tree
trunk, while Njobo hurried off and returned with his spear.

Looking into the black, gaping hole I saw two eyes, glowing
bright red and unblinking, staring at me from the darkness. Njobo
[825] had seen a *sondu*, a highly coveted kind of antelope, and had cornered
[136] it in a sharp bend of the river so that it had been forced to take
[151] refuge in the tree trunk, trapping itself. All this had taken place so
silently that only Kenge's sharp ears had picked up the noises. When
the net was firmly fixed Manyalibo stood on the tree trunk and
thrust a long stick inside, keeping himself well clear of the opening.
The forest antelopes have small but sharp horns, and when trapped
they are vicious and dangerous. The sondu, snuffling with anger and
pain, came bolting out so fast that it tore the mesh of the net. It
lay there struggling and bleating, but only for an instant. All three
hunters were on top of it, and two of them held it down while Njobo
cut its throat with the blade of his spear. He looked up at me happily
and said, "This is going to be a good camp, for the forest has
given us meat before we have even built our houses."

484 Within another fifteen minutes the first of the women arrived.
482 They had heard the thunder and had hurried, traveling (as they can
when they want to) as fast as any man, in spite of the loads on their
361 backs and the children on their hips. They were singing as they
342 strode into the camp with long, graceful steps, and, just as the men
481
533 had done, each cast a quick look around and chose a spot where she
would build a house for her family. Njobo's wife, pretty young
361 Masamba, was among them. She went to where Njobo had put
342
412 his net, threw down the load from her back, and without stopping

122 132 and, not being married, had no huts of their own. We had brought
589 our fire into the hut when the rain started, and with the heat of that
132 and of about fifteen bodies I was nearly suffocated. Every now and
342 then the rain found its way through the leaves above and sent a tiny
waterfall cascading to the floor. Then someone would stand up and
inspect the roof carefully, decide which leaf should be moved, and
pushing his fingers through the lattice adjust it. If he moved the
wrong leaf it started a leak in another place, bringing howls of annoyance
from whoever was beneath. Kenge said it was always like
[581] this with a new hut, that was why it was so bad not to be married.
[593] If you were married, naturally your wife would get up when it
rained at night and fix the roof. But once the leaves had settled down,
not even the hardest rain would come in until the leaves got old and
dried out and began to curl. Tomorrow, he said, he would cover the
roof with dead wood and branches to hold the leaves flat.

512 The rain lasted only for half an hour, and as soon as it was over
[132] everyone came out of the huts. The fires were built up outside
[372] again; the women made a few adjustments to the roofs where they
[462] had found bad leaks; the men wandered off idly with their bows and
[224] arrows to see if they could find a bird or monkey for the evening
meal before it was too dark. The huts steamed as they dried out, and
a blue haze of smoke hung above the camp and was colored suddenly
with orange and gold and red as the clouds parted and the sun on the
[578] invisible horizon sent a last blaze of light across the sky. The birds
burst into a final chorus of song, and two women argued loudly with
each other as to which should have the rest of the leaves that Masamba
had cut to help them.

Everyone was tired from the long day's trek and from the flurry
of building camp so quickly, and as soon as it was dark and the evening
meal had been eaten we all crept into our huts and went to
[122] sleep. Kenge, seeing that I was a little concerned, had turned some
of the bachelors out, so there were only nine of us. For an hour the

THE MAKING OF CAMP LELO

For an hour the
others lay around the fire, while I was pushed into a corner, and 517
discussed where they would go to hunt the next day and which girls 521
they would flirt with. They poked sleepily at the fire, sending up 512
showers of sparks and filling the hut with smoke. In all the huts
around us, families were chatting among themselves in a drowsy
way, and occasionally some eavesdropper shouted a suitable comment,
bringing a burst of laughter from all the nearby huts. The leaf walls
keep out no sound at all, and anything said in an ordinary speaking
voice can be heard four or five huts away. But before long the voices
got sleepier and sleepier, and finally the only sounds were the chirping
of crickets, the soft swishing of the already swollen Lelo, and
the quiet falsetto of Makubasi as he sat outside his hut, all alone
by a blazing fire. He held his baby son on his lap, and sang a lul- [533]
laby, half to himself and half to the child. He was still singing when [854]
I went to sleep.

The next morning the camp was up at dawn, and before it was 512
properly light there was hardly a soul left about—only old Tungana, [887]
sitting where his son Makubasi had sat the night before and like
his son singing to the baby on his knee. Kenge said that some of [224] •
the men had gone hunting early, because they needed a lot of meat [765]
to begin the molimo festival for Balekimito and they did not want to
start until they had plenty of food. The rest of the men and women [313]
were out cutting the leaves and saplings needed to finish building the [314]
camp. We went to join them, not far off. The rest of the day we
spent making the simple furniture of a Pygmy household.

Sticks lashed together and bound by vine thongs to a frame make 352
one of the most uncomfortable beds in the world. The sticks them- [284]
selves are comfortable enough, but for some reason these beds are
made so that each end bends sharply upward and however you lie
on it the effect is worse than being in a badly slung hammock. Some [513]
Pygmies don't bother with a bed but just put the sticks on the
ground and lie on them, or sleep on dry leaves. Tables are made

stalled themselves with the rest of the family at the north end of the 361
camp. Shortly afterward Cephu arrived. Ekianga had brought news [578]
that he was on his way, and there had been a lot of argument. In [224]
spite of the auspicious killing of a sondu on the first day, the hunting since had not been very good, and already the camp was large. There were about twenty-five huts now, forming two circles, one on each side of the central barrier of brush and trees.

In the early afternoon there was a silence in the camp and Kenge [151]
stood listening, looking across the camp to the south. He turned and told me that Cephu was not far away and would be here in a
quarter of an hour. Almost to the minute Cephu arrived, leading a 361
band of another five families. Most of them stopped at the edge of 576
the camp at the south end; only Cephu and one other came over to the main camp to greet us and announce his arrival. A new fire had been built in the center of our clearing, opposite Manyalibo's hut, and Cephu sat down there, one of the younger men getting up to give him his chair. He asked about the hunting and gave us news of the village. He said that his brother, who was a cripple, had not wanted to come so far and had made a small camp half way, near Apa Kadiketu. After a few minutes he left, not having been offered anything to eat or any tobacco to smoke, and started building his own camp about fifty yards to the south of the extreme edge of the
clearing. He built a tight little circle of huts, connected by a path 361
to the main trail on one side and to the camp on the other. He chose that site because he had some relatives at that end of our camp.

The same day Manyalibo's daughter also arrived, with her hus- 156
band, Ausu. Ausu was a handsome Pygmy, strong, and clever at [551]
hunting both with spear and with net. He had caught many wild [224]
pig, although he was only in his early twenties, and once, when still
in his teens, he had nearly been killed by one. His wife, Kondabate, 156
was a Pygmy belle if there ever was one, and she knew it. The two 832
had been married for nearly three years but had no children. Kon- 826
842

Masisi hunts birds and monkeys. The wooden point of his arrow is tipped with poison.

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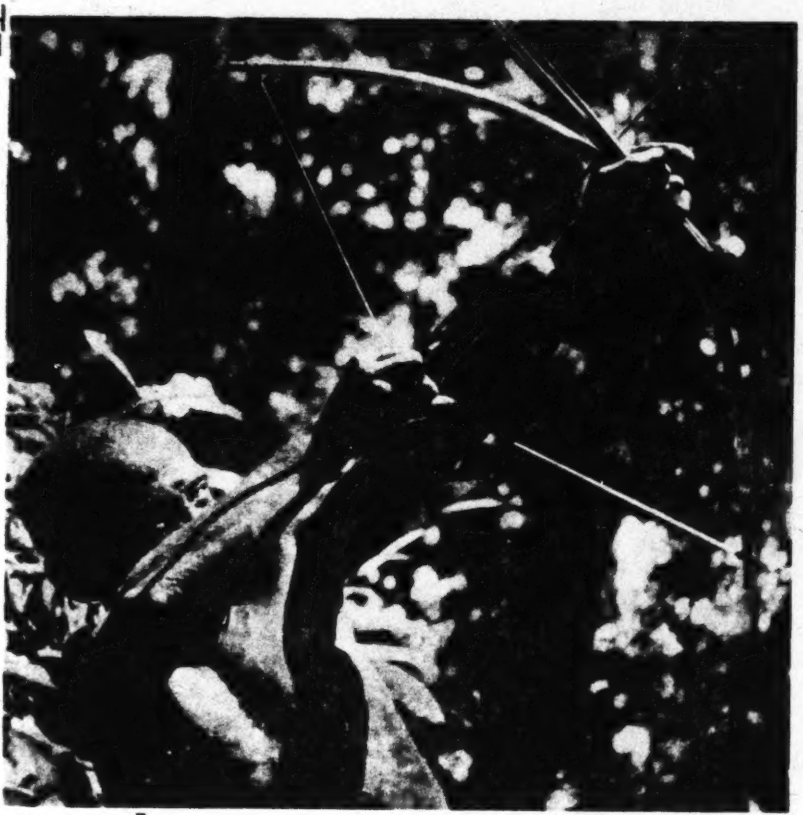

[P. 72-C]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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137
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A group of men sets off for the hunt, some carrying their hunting

[P. 72-F1]

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti

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nets, others spears or bows and arrows.

[P.72-F2]

to cook the morning meal. Back in the camp they sat outside their 512
huts, legs straight out in front of them in what seemed the most [516]
uncomfortable position possible. From there they prepared the family 512
repast, placing green plantains in the hot ashes to roast, or con- 252
cocting a stew of mushrooms and chopped leaves with whatever meat
was left over from the day before, covering the pot with large leaves
to trap the steam and to keep out ashes and dirt. Any little chores [593]
that had to be done were done by their daughters, who scurried [857]
around collecting dry twigs to heat the fire up more quickly, or sat
over the fire with their baby brothers, carefully guarding the pot
and making sure it did not upset when the burning wood subsided.
The younger women, freed in this way, relaxed and set to work 512
making themselves beautiful. They sat in full view of the camp, 302
unashamedly painting their bodies with black paste, calling their
friends over to help with the more inaccessible regions. The buttocks
in particular they found difficult to paint themselves, and rather
than waste such an expansive area they would either bend over in
front of a friend, or lie across her lap.

The men combined business with pleasure too, usually meeting 512
at the kumamolimo to drink from a steaming bowl of liko. The [272] [264]
young bachelors mostly cooked their own simple breakfast here, and [589]
together they all discussed the day ahead of them—where they
should go to hunt, what they might expect to find. Cephu never
came over from his little camp at such times. He merely waited until
all the others set off for the hunt, then he joined them.

The men also had to prepare their nets. Helping one another, 224
they uncoiled long lengths of knotted twine, sometimes stretching 476 286
for three hundred feet, inspecting every section with care. Then,
standing upright, the assistant holding the net off the ground, each
man coiled his net again so that it hung from one shoulder to within
a few inches of his ankle. With a loose length of twine he deftly
bound the coils together, gave the net a final shake and hung it from

224
476 some convenient branch or tree stump. Sometimes, when hunting,
286 nets have to be set up rapidly, and anyone whose net has become tangled through poor preparation and coiling can spoil the chances of all the others.

224 The women have little to do by way of preparation for the hunt,
462 other than making sure of the strength of the bark tump line by
[482] which they carry their baskets. They put some food in these in case
[251] the day's hunt is a long one, and they wrap a glowing ember from
[372] the family fire in large, damp leaves, and sit down and wait for the men to set off.

In normal times there is often a dance before everyone departs for the hunt. Men and women circle the camp, singing a hunting song, looking from right to left, clapping their hands and leaping extravagantly in imitation of the animals they hope to catch. But this was rare during the days of the molimo as all felt the lack of rest.

224 Another form of hunting magic, if you can call it that, was a
825 paste made from various parts of an antelope, particularly the heart
[237] and the eye. The charred flesh is mixed with spittle and ground to a paste, then put in an inverted antelope horn and stuck in the ground near the family fire. Just before going on the hunt, members of the family smear one another with some of the paste, using a twig to dig it out of the horn. It is difficult to say whether this form of
[177] magic is of Pygmy or Negro origin. I rather think the latter, because only a few families practiced it, and they were highly criticized by the others as being antisocial. They were trying to get success for
224 themselves at the expense of the others. On one such occasion a fam-
777 ily had a long run of good luck, the animals always falling into their net, while others had no luck at all. It was decided that this must have been due to *anjo,* as the medicine was called, so everyone, including the offenders, agreed that the only thing to do was to destroy the horns that held the medicine. Everyone who had such a magic horn gave it to old Moke and promised not to make any more

selfish magic. Moke threw the horns in a fire and no more was said. 224 777
It so happened that the family in question continued to have good luck for some time.

Hunting, for a Pygmy group, is a co-operative affair—net-hunting 224
particularly. The use of private magic is frowned on, though there
is no law against it. The sacred hunting fire is all that they consider [372]
right and necessary, and this is found throughout the forest. It is thought to secure the blessing of the forest which provides the game, and to bring good luck to the entire group. Even those groups that hunt mainly with bow and arrow, hunt not as individuals, but for the group as a whole. For the net hunters it is impossible to hunt alone. Men, women and children all have to co-operate if the hunt is to be successful.

The "Fire of the Hunt" simply involves the lighting of a fire at 224
the base of a tree a short distance from the camp. In other Pygmy 372
groups I have seen a variation in which the fire is lighted within the camp, special sticks around it pointing in the direction the hunt is going to take. In this case the fire is surrounded by a long and heavy vine laid in a circle on the ground, and when the game is brought home it is placed within this circle before being divided. But this particular group, and others in the area, were less formal.

I remember one morning in particular when we went to kindle the Fire of the Hunt outside the camp, because it was the day that old Cephu committed one of the greatest sins possible in the forest.

I doubt if any of us had managed to snatch more than two hours' 765
sleep, and we were all quiet while preparing for the hunt. In a Pygmy 578
camp this is the surest danger signal of all, for usually everyone is talking 152
and laughing and shouting rude remarks from one end of the camp to the other. It was not only that we were tired, but of late Cephu had refused to contribute to the molimo basket, and that morning he had been heard to call out, in his loudest voice, that he was fed up with the molimo of "that camp over there." Even though he always

765 Even though he[1] always
578 made his camp a short distance off it was close enough to be thought
152 of as the same camp, and whether or not we appreciated his presence
621 we thought of his camp and ours as being the same. Even his unwillingness to take part in the molimo was accepted, to maintain some semblance of unity; but this sudden statement made it impossible to ignore Cephu's feeling of rivalry any longer. Rather than cause an open breach, everyone in the main camp kept his thoughts to himself and was silent.

224 About an hour after dawn, four or five youths with their nets and
372 spears went off to light the hunting fire. I went with them, and only when we had crossed the Lelo and were on the other side did they speak. Then it was about trivialities, and soon they were chatting and laughing as though nothing were wrong. Shortly afterward we were joined by half a dozen of the younger married men, the most active hunters, and we lit the fire at the top of the hill. Leaves and twigs were piled around the base of a young tree, and an ember brought from the camp set them ablaze. More leaves were thrown on so that dense clouds of smoke went billowing up to the invisible sky, until finally the flames burst through with a great roar of victory.
[182] There was no great ritual or ceremonial, but somehow this act put the hunters in harmony with the forest and secured its blessing and assistance for the day's hunt. The Pygmies regard fire as the most precious gift of the forest, and by offering it back to the forest they are acknowledging their debt and their dependence.

224 As we sat around waiting for the others, one or two couples passed
[222] by. They were going ahead so they would have extra time for gathering mushrooms on the way. They paused to chat and then walked
224 on, lightly, swiftly, and gaily. Before long the main body of hunters
372 arrived and asked where Cephu was. We had not seen him. It
578 seemed that he had left the camp shortly after us but instead of
156 passing by the hunting fire had followed a different path. Someone suggested that he was building a fire of his own. This brought cries

[1] [i.e., Cephu. - Analyst]

of protest that not even Cephu would do such a thing. There was 224
much shaking of heads, and when Ekianga arrived and was told what 372
had happened he stood still for a moment, then turned around, look- 578
ing in all directions to see if there was any sign of smoke from an- 156
other fire. He said just one word, "Cephu," and spat on the ground. [201]

By the time we got to the place where we were to make our first cast of the nets everyone was more silent and miserable than ever. It did not make matters any better to find Cephu there already, [262] contentedly sitting over a fire eating roast plantains. He looked up and greeted us in a friendly way, and when asked why he had followed his own path he opened his eyes wide and softly said that he had misunderstood and taken the wrong trail. There were angry remarks, but Cephu ignored them all and went on munching at his plantain, smiling at everyone in his kind, gentle way.

Ekianga and a few others made a brief reconnaissance, and when 224 they came back they gave instructions as to the best direction for setting up the nets. The womenfolk, who had been foraging around for mushrooms and nuts, picked up their baskets and went ahead with the small children. They trod lightly and made no noise beyond an occasional crunch of a rotten branch, buried deep beneath the carpet of leaves. We all spread out in a long semicircle, each man knowing exactly who should be to his right and who to his left. I went with Maipe, who had been sent by Njobo with his net. We soon lost sight and sound of the others, but Maipe knew just where he would be expected to set up his net, and he took a short cut. I lost all sense of direction and could not even tell on which side of us the women were waiting for the signal to beat in toward our nets. We followed a little stream and paused by an enormous outcrop of huge stone boulders, almost perfectly square in shape, some of them eight feet across each face. Maipe looked around, then sat down to wait. After a few minutes Moke's nephew appeared to our left, stringing his net out through the undergrowth as he came.

• 224 The end of the net stopped a few feet short of the boulders, and Maipe deftly joined it to his net; then, slipping each coil off his shoulder in turn, he hung his own net, fastening it to low branches and saplings. It stretched for about three hundred feet, so that one end was completely out of sight from the other. It stood about four feet high, and Maipe walked the length of it, silently adjusting it so that it touched the ground all the way along and was securely fastened above. If he found the net drooping where there was no support, he cut a sapling, stuck it in the ground and hung the net on it, bending the top sharply back, twisting it around and through the mesh so that the net could not slip. When this was done he took up his spear and casually sharpened it with a stone picked off the ground.

It was about another five minutes before he suddenly stood up and beckoned me to do the same. He stood absolutely motionless, his head slightly on one side, listening; his spear was raised just a few inches from the ground. I listened too, but could hear nothing. The forest had become silent; even the crickets had stopped their almost incessant chirping. Maipe raised his spear higher, and then at some signal that I did not even notice there was a burst of shouting, yelling, hooting and clapping, as the women and children started the beat. They must have been about half a mile away, and as they
[136] came closer the noise was deafening. We saw one antelope, a large
red sondu, ears back, leaping toward the boulders as though it were heading straight for our net, but at the last moment it saw us and veered away to the left. Maipe could probably have killed it with his spear, but he said, "That is not for us. It will probably fall into Ekianga's net." Just then there was a lot of yelling from Moke's nephew. Maipe vaulted over the net and ran swiftly, leaping and bounding like the sondu to avoid obstacles. I followed as best I could, but was passed by several youngsters from farther down the
[136] line before I reached the others. The sondu had gone into Ekianga's

net, just as Maipe had said, but while all the attention was in that 224 [136] direction a water chevrotain, the *sindula,* had tried to fight its way through Moke's net.

The sindula is one of the most prized animals; it is not much larger than a small dog but is dangerous and vicious. Moke's nephew had been left all by himself to deal with it, as the others in that area were helping Ekianga with the sondu. The youngster, probably not much more than thirteen years old, had speared it with his first thrust, pinning the animal to the ground through the fleshy part of the stomach. But the animal was still very much alive, fighting for freedom. It had already bitten its way through the net, and now it was doubled up, gashing the spear shaft with its sharp teeth. Maipe put another spear into its neck, but it still writhed and fought. Not until a third spear pierced its heart did it give up the struggle.

It was at times like this that I found myself furthest removed [114] from the Pygmies. They stood around in an excited group, pointing [825] at the dying animal and laughing. One boy, about nine years old, threw himself on the ground and curled up in a grotesque heap and imitated the sindula's last convulsions. The men pulled their spears out and joked with one another about being afraid of a little animal like that, and to emphasize his point one of them kicked the torn and bleeding body. Then Maipe's mother came and swept the blood-streaked animal up by its hind legs and threw it over her shoulder into the basket on her back.

At other times I have seen Pygmies singeing feathers off birds 825 that were still alive, explaining that the meat is more tender if death [223] comes slowly. And the hunting dogs, valuable as they are, get kicked [231] around mercilessly from the day they are born to the day they die. I have never seen any attempt at the domestication of any animal or bird apart from the hunting dog. When I talked to the Pygmies about their treatment of animals, they laughed at me and said, "The forest has given us animals for food—should we refuse this gift and

825 starve?" I thought of turkey farms and Thanksgiving, and of the millions of animals reared by our own society with the sole intention of slaughtering them for food.

224 Ekianga was busy cutting up the sondu by the time I reached his net, for it was too large an animal to fit in his wife's basket. Usually game is brought back to camp before it is divided, and in some groups the dead antelope would have been sent back to camp immediately, around the neck and shoulders of one of the youngsters. But here the womenfolk crowded around as Ekianga hacked away, each claiming her share for her family. "My husband lent you his spear. . . ." "We gave your third wife some liver when she was hungry and you were away. . . ." "My father and yours always hunted side by side. . . ." These were all typical arguments, but for the most part they were not needed. Everyone knew who was entitled to a share, and by and large they stuck to the rules.

224 578 156 Above all the clamor, and in the process of re-coiling the nets and assembling for the next cast, a disgruntled Cephu appeared and complained that he had had no luck. He looked enviously at the sondu and the sindula, but nobody offered him a share. Maipe's mother hurriedly covered the chevrotain with leaves to avoid argument. She worked efficiently, not bothering to take the basket off but using her hands behind her back, and bouncing the basket on her buttocks until the dead animal was completely hidden by the leaves.

We went on for a mile or two and made another cast. Once more Cephu was unlucky, and this time he complained even more loudly, accusing the women of deliberately driving the animals away from his nets. They retorted that he had enough of his own womenfolk there, to which he replied rather ungallantly, "That makes no difference, they are a bunch of lazy empty-heads."

224 123 They were still arguing when they set off for the third cast. I had caught sight of old Moke and stayed behind to talk to him. He

had not left with the hunt but had gone off on his own, as he usually 224
did, with his bow and arrows. I was surprised to see him. He said, 123
"Don't follow them any longer; they will deafen you with their
noise. Cephu will spoil the hunt completely—you'll see." He added
that he had happened to be nearby, waiting for the animals either
to break through the nets or to escape around the edges. He picked [136]
up a large civet cat, the skin slightly stained where it had been
pierced by an arrow. "Not very good for eating," Moke commented, [237]
"but it will make a beautiful hat. Cephu won't get even that—he is [291]
too busy watching other people's nets to watch his own. His is a good
net to stand behind with bow and arrow!" He chuckled to himself
and swung the cat high in the air.

We ambled back slowly, Moke talking away, sometimes to himself 224
and sometimes to me. On the way he stopped to examine some
tracks that were fresh, appearing over the tracks made by the hunters
earlier on. He announced that they were made by a large male leopard,
and that it was probably watching us from "over there"—waving
casually to our right with his bow. Then he moved on in his
leisurely way, humming to himself.

Back in the camp I was surprised to find that some of the hunters
were back already, including Maipe. They had taken a short cut,
and traveled twice as fast as Moke and myself. Some of them said
it was because rain had threatened, but others, more bluntly, said
it was because they did not like the noise Cephu was making. There
were a number of women in the camp, and they seemed anxious to
change the subject, so Moke told them about the leopard tracks. 224
They laughed and said what a shock the hunters might get if they 825
came back along that trail. One of them started miming the leopard 536
lying in wait, its eyes staring from that side to this. The others
formed a line and pretended to be the hunters. Every few steps the
"leopard" turned around and jumped up in the air, growling fiercely,
sending its pursuers flying to the protection of the trees.

224 This dance[1] was still in progress when the main body of the hunters 578 returned. They strode into camp with glowering faces and threw 152 their nets on the ground outside their huts. Then they sat down, 156 with their chins in their hands, staring into space and saying nothing. The women followed, mostly with empty baskets, but they were by no means silent. They swore at each other, they swore at their husbands, and most of all they swore at Cephu. Moke looked across at me and smiled. He was skinning the civet.

I tried to find out what had happened, but nobody would say. Kenge, who had been sleeping, came out of our hut and joined the shouting. He was the only male who was not sitting down, and although he was young he had a powerful voice, and a colorful use of language. I heard him saying, "Cephu is an impotent old fool. No, he isn't, he is an impotent old animal—we have treated him like a man for long enough, now we should treat him like an animal. *Animal!*" He shouted the final epithet across at Cephu's camp, although Cephu had not yet returned.

The result of Kenge's tirade was that everyone calmed down and began criticizing Cephu a little less heatedly, but on every possible score: The way he always built his camp separately, the way he had even referred to it as a separate camp, the way he mistreated his relatives, his general deceitfulness, the dirtiness of his camp, and even his own personal habits.

The rest of the hunters came in shortly afterward, with Cephu leading. He strode across the camp and into his own little clearing [765] without a word. Ekianga and Manyalibo, who brought up the rear, sat down at the kumamolimo and announced to the world at large that Cephu had disgraced them all and that they were going to tear down the kumamolimo and abandon the camp and end the molimo. Manyalibo shouted that he wanted everyone to come to the kumamolimo at once, even Cephu. This was a great matter and had to be settled immediately. Kenge, not slow to seize the opportunity

[1] [i.e., the imitation of the leopard--Analyst]

224
for reviving his earlier show of wit, relayed Manyalibo's message by 578
standing in midcamp and shouting over in Cephu's direction, 152
"Nyama'e, nyama'e! Pika'i to, nyama UE!" (Animal there! Animal 156
there! Come at once, *you*, you animal!") The youngsters all laughed loudly, but the older men paid no attention. This sent Kenge into a sulk and he started calling us all animals, adding that we were a lot of savages, just like the village people. But now not even the youngsters were listening, for Cephu had appeared.

Trying not to walk too quickly, yet afraid to dawdle too deliberately, he made an awkward entrance. For as good an actor as Cephu it was surprising. By the time he got to the kumamolimo everyone was doing something to occupy himself—staring into the fire or up at the tree tops, roasting plantains, smoking, or whittling away at arrow shafts. Only Ekianga and Manyalibo looked impatient, but they said nothing. Cephu walked into the group, and still nobody spoke. He went up to where a youth was sitting in a chair. Usually he would have been offered a seat without his having to ask, and now he did not dare ask, and the youth continued to sit there in as nonchalant a manner as he could muster. Cephu went to another chair where Amabosu was sitting. He shook it violently when Amabosu ignored him, at which he was told, "Animals lie on the ground."

This was too much for Cephu, and he went into a long diatribe about how he was one of the oldest hunters in the group, and one of the best hunters, and that he thought it was very wrong for everyone to treat him like an animal. Only villagers were like animals. Masisi spoke up in his favor and ordered Amabosu to give up his chair. Amabosu did so with a gesture of contempt and moved over to the far side of the group. Moke was the only one to stay completely apart. He sat outside his hut. He had finished skinning the [281]
civet and was twisting strands of vine together to make a frame for the hat. He looked peaceful and contented.

224 Manyalibo stood up and began a rather pompous statement of
765 how everyone wanted this camp to be a good camp, and how every-
578 one wanted the molimo to be a good molimo, with lots of singing,
156 lots of eating, and lots of smoking. But Cephu never took part in
the molimo, he pointed out. And Cephu's little group never contributed to the molimo basket. Manyalibo went on, listing the various ways in which Cephu had defaulted and made the camp into a bad camp instead of a good camp, and the molimo a bad molimo. And now, he added, Cephu had made the hunt a bad hunt. He recalled how on the first day, even before the camp was built, we had been presented with an antelope by the forest, but how ever since Cephu had joined us things had gone from bad to worse.

224 Cephu tried to interject that the molimo was really none of his
765 business. At this Masisi, who had befriended him over the chair
578 incident, and who had relatives in his camp, rounded on him sharply.
156
593 He reminded Cephu that he had been glad enough to accept help
and food and song when his daughter had died; now that his "mother" had died, why did he reject her? Cephu replied that Balekimito was not his mother. This was what everyone was waiting for. Not only did he name the dead woman, an unheard-of offense,
[602] but he denied that she was his mother. Even though there was only
[621] the most distant relationship, and that by marriage, it was equivalent
to asserting that he did not belong to the same group as Ekianga and Manyalibo and the rest.

578 Ekianga leaped to his feet and brandished his hairy fist across the
156 fire. He said that he hoped Cephu would fall on his spear and kill
152 himself like the animal he was. Who but an animal would steal meat
224
from others? There were cries of rage from everyone, and Cephu
224 burst into tears. Apparently, during the last cast of the nets Cephu,
578 who had not trapped a single animal the whole day long, had slipped
156 away from the others and set up his net in front of them. In this way

he caught the first of the animals fleeing from the beaters, but he 156 224
had not been able to retreat before he was discovered. 578

I had never heard of this happening before, and it was obviously 224
a serious offense. In a small and tightly knit hunting band, survival 578
can be achieved only by the closest co-operation and by an elaborate 621
system of reciprocal obligations which insures that everyone has some 476
share in the day's catch. Some days one gets more than others, but nobody ever goes without. There is, as often as not, a great deal of squabbling over the division of the game, but that is expected, and nobody tries to take what is not his due.

Cephu tried very weakly to say that he had lost touch with the 224
others and was still waiting when he heard the beating begin. It was 578
only then that he had set up his net, where he was. Knowing that 156
nobody believed him, he added that in any case he felt he deserved 558
a better place in the line of nets. After all, was he not an important man, a chief, in fact, of his own band? Manyalibo tugged at Ekianga to sit down, and sitting down himself he said there was obviously no
use prolonging the discussion. Cephu was a big chief, and a chief was [186]
a villager, for the BaMbuti never have chiefs. And Cephu had his [329]
own band, of which he was chief, so let him go with it and hunt elsewhere and be a chief elsewhere. Manyalibo ended a very eloquent speech with "*Pisa me taba*" ("Pass me the tobacco").

Cephu knew he was defeated and humiliated. Alone, his band 224
of four or five families was too small to make an efficient hunting 156
unit. He apologized profusely, reiterated that he really did not know 558
he had set up his net in front of the others, and said that in any 626
case he would hand over all the meat. This settled the matter, and accompanied by most of the group he returned to his little camp and brusquely ordered his wife to hand over the spoils. She had little chance to refuse, as hands were already reaching into her basket and under the leaves of the roof where she had hidden some liver in anticipation of just such a contingency. Even her cooking pot was

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156 emptied. Then each of the other huts was searched and all the meat
558 taken. Cephu's family protested loudly and Cephu tried hard to
626 cry, but this time it was forced and everyone laughed at him. He
clutched his stomach and said he would die; die because he was
hungry and his brothers had taken away all his food; die because he
was not respected.

765 The kumamolimo was festive once again, and the camp seemed
621 restored to good spirits. An hour later, when it was dark and fires
264 were flickering outside every hut, there was a great blaze at the
central hearth and the men talked about the morrow's hunt. From
[201] Cephu's camp came the sound of the old man, still trying hard to
cry, moaning about his unfortunate situation, making noises that
were meant to indicate hunger. From our own camp came the jeers
of women, ridiculing him and imitating his moans.

[602] When Masisi had finished his meal he took a pot full of meat
with mushroom sauce, cooked by his wife, and quietly slipped away
into the shadows in the direction of his unhappy kinsman. The moaning stopped, and when the evening molimo singing was at its height
[516] I saw Cephu in our midst. Like most of us he was sitting on the
[829] ground, in the manner of an animal. But he was singing, and that
meant that he was just as much a BaMbuti as anyone else.

6

The Giver of the Law

CEPHU HAD COMMITTED what is probably one of the most heinous crimes in Pygmy eyes, and one that rarely occurs. Yet the case was settled simply and effectively, without any evident legal system being brought into force. It cannot be said that Cephu went unpunished, because for those few hours when nobody would speak to him he must have suffered the equivalent of as many days solitary confinement for anyone else. To have been refused a chair by a mere youth, not even one of the great hunters; to have been laughed at by women and children; to have been ignored by men—none of these things would be quickly forgotten. Without any formal process of 224 156 626 681

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156
626 law Cephu had been firmly put in his place, and it was unlikely he
681 would do the same thing again in a hurry.

181 This was typical of all Pygmy life, on the surface at least. There was a confusing, seductive informality about everything they did.
[157] Whether it was a birth, a wedding, or a funeral, in a Pygmy hunting camp or in a Negro village, there was always an unexpectedly casual,
[621] almost carefree attitude. There was, for instance, little apparent spe-
[858] cialization; everyone took part in everything. Children had little or no voice in adult affairs, but the only adult activities from which they seemed to be rigidly excluded were certain songs, and of course the
[462] molimo. Between men and women there was also a certain degree of specialization, but little that could be called exclusive.

621 There were no chiefs, no formal councils. In each aspect of Pygmy
627 life there might be one or two men or women who were more prominent than others, but usually for good practical reasons. This showed
[69] up most clearly of all in the settling of disputes. There was no judge, no jury, no court. The Negro tribes all around had their tribunals, but not the Pygmies. Each dispute was settled as it arose, according to its nature.

627 Roughly, there were four ways of punishing offenses, each operat-
681 ing as an efficient deterrent but without necessitating any system of outright punishment. In a small and co-operative group no individual would want the job either of passing judgment or of administering punishment, so like everything else in Pygmy life the maintenance of law was a co-operative affair. Certain offenses, rarely committed, were considered so terrible that they would of themselves bring some form of supernatural retribution. Others became the affair of the molimo, which in its morning rampages showed public disapproval by attacking the hut of the culprit, possibly the culprit himself. Both these types of crime were extremely rare. The more serious of the
[685] other crimes, such as theft, were dealt with by a sound thrashing which was administered co-operatively by all who felt inclined to

THE PLAY WORLD OF THE BAMBUTI

At an early age boys and girls are "playing house." They solemnly collect the sticks and leaves, and while the girl is building a miniature house the boy prowls around with his bow and arrow. He will eventually find a stray plantain or an ear of corn which he will shoot at and proudly carry back. With equal solemnity it is cooked and eaten, and the two may even sleep the sleep of innocence in the hut they have made. 857

They will also play at hunting, the boys stretching out their little bits of net while the girls beat the ground with bunches of leaves and drive some poor tired old frog in toward the boys. If they can't find a frog they go and awaken one of their grandparents and ask him to play at being an antelope. He is then pursued all over the camp, twisting and dodging among the huts and the trees, until finally the young hunters trap their quarry in the net, and with shouts of delight pounce on him, beating him lovingly with their little fists. Then they roll over and over in a tangle with the net until they are exhausted. 857 224 [887] [603]

For children, life is one long frolic interspersed with a healthy sprinkle of spankings and slappings. Sometimes these seem unduly severe, but it is all part of their training. And one day they find that the games they have been playing are not games any longer, but the real thing, for they have become adults. Their hunting is now real hunting; their tree climbing is in earnest search of inaccessible honey; their acrobatics on the swings are repeated almost daily, in other forms, in the pursuit of elusive game, or in avoiding the malicious forest buffalo. It happens so gradually that they hardly notice the change at first, for even when they are proud and famous hunters their life is still full of fun and laughter. 861 857

While the children are playing about in their bopi, safely out of the way, yet close enough not to be able to fall into any real danger, 512

husband, and the final step, if he did not stop her, was for her to 342
pack her few belongings and walk off, having completely demolished 462
their home first. 593 Then she would return to the home of her parents. It is the nature of a Pygmy never to admit he is wrong, and the husband was beginning to feel equally anxious. Things had gone too far for either of them to patch up the quarrel without being shamed in the eyes of all those who were watching to see what would happen next. He sat silent, hugging his knees, looking as miserable as his wife. Then he brightened up suddenly and turned around to see how far the demolition had gone. Only a few sticks had been pulled out. He called to his wife not to bother with the sticks, it was only the leaves that were dirty. She looked at him with a puzzled [201]
"*Ayiiiiii?*"—and then, understanding, asked him to help her carry the leaves down to the stream. This they did, and together they gravely washed every single leaf and brought them back. While she joyfully put the leaves back on the hut he stoked up the fire and then went off with his bow and arrows to see if he could find some game to bring back for a special dinner.

The pretense was that she had been taking the leaves off not because she was angry, but because they were dirty and attracted ants and spiders. Nobody believed this, but everyone was glad the quarrel was over. For several days women talked politely about the insects in the leaves of their huts, and took a few leaves down to the stream to wash, as if this was a perfectly normal procedure. I have never seen it done before or since.

But apart from little excitements of this kind during the day, the 512
camp really comes to life only when the hunt returns. Long before 224 •
the first hunter appears the whole camp knows exactly who has caught 202
what. They know partly by listening for the shouts and arm-claps of the returning hunters, which they can hear from a considerable distance, and partly because throughout the day children come and

512
• 224 go between the camp and the hunt, if they are not too far apart,
[202] bringing news to and fro.

As soon as the hunters return they deposit the meat on the ground, and the camp gathers to make sure the division is fair. Nobody acknowledges that it is, but in the end everyone is satisfied. Cooking operations start at once and within an hour everyone is eating. If the
[535] hunt has been a good one, and the day is still young, the most energetic men and women dance immediately afterward, followed by the children. In the course of such a dance they imitate, with suitable exaggeration, the events of the day. If the hunt has not been so good, or a man is tired and does not feel like dancing, he will sit down and gather his family around him and tell them something that has happened to him on the hunt, something wonderful and exciting, but which naturally happened while nobody else was looking.

538 Since Pygmies are blessed with a lively imagination, these stories
[157] grow until it is difficult to tell the difference between what is meant to be a straight, factual account and a traditional legend. And there is always the element of the two-way process in which fact becomes legend, and legend becomes accepted, through constant repetition, as fact.

The dream world of the Pygmies is a very real one, full of hidden meaning and significance. There is one story that Cephu is still fond of telling, and he still tells it in almost exactly the same way as he did six years earlier when I first heard it.

538 He had been into the village for a short visit, and we all knew he
439 had gone empty-handed. Yet when he returned a few days later he
177 brought a sizable load of plantains and rice with him. Everyone asked him who he had stolen it from. Cephu, with a great smile spreading across his face, sat down and waited for his audience to settle down. With his wife and his children close behind him, and his friends all around, Cephu sat simply on the ground in his most charming and bewitching way, old rascal that he was, even then. He looked up

at the trees and opened his arms and raised his expressive hands 538
upward. He began telling the story in his beautiful rich voice, the 439
seriousness of what he was saying belied only by the smile that lurked 177
in the depths of his shining brown eyes.

"I am only a poor BaMbuti; the forest is my father and my mother. But my Negro master had asked me to bring him some meat." So Cephu started, self-deprecating, using the term for his patron in the sense in which only the Negroes use it, as indicating ownership. The Pygmies accept this assumption of superiority outwardly, because it pays—as the story went on to show.

"My master asked me for meat, so I hunted and I hunted and [224]
I hunted, and I caught sondu and lendu and mboloko and sindula, [251]
and I cut them all up and dried them carefully. When they were
nice and dry I wrapped the meat in fresh mongongo leaves and put
it all in my basket and set off for the village. But on the way I saw 538
a bad spirit coming toward me. I tried to escape but he caught up 439
with me and demanded the meat. I said, 'No, this is for my master. 177
776
I cannot give it to you. You may take all my own food, but not this
meat—that is for my beloved master.' But the spirit was not to be
put off, and I had to fight with him. Finally I managed to escape,
because I am strong and a great hunter, and I ran on toward the
village as fast as I could. Spirits are very bad things to fight. They [186]
would kill any villager; only we Pygmies can deal with them. But
then I saw the spirit again and this time he was more clever than I,
and he changed into my grandmother. 'A'i, Cephu! Where are you
going with all that meat?' she asked me. Now my grandmother died [769]
many years ago and I had to be polite to her. So I told her I was taking
it to my beloved master. But she got angry and demanded it, asking
if I would refuse it to her, a Pygmy, my own grandmother, and bring
it to a villager? I pleaded with her and begged her, telling her how
good my master always was to me, and how hungry he was for meat.
But she snatched the basket from me, and because she was my

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821 or dry, with few real ups and downs that affect the life of the group
181 as a whole.

224 Occasionally an elephant is killed, and that means the entire camp
361 will be abandoned at once and a new one built around the dead
527 animal, so that it can be eaten on the spot. The Pygmies point out
that this is easier than bringing the elephant to the camp. It means
a week of merry-making, of singing and dancing and no hunting.
177 The only trouble is that it also means visits from the villagers. On
527 such occasions they will pluck up their courage and venture into the
43 forest, feeling that with such an abundance of meat the Pygmies
574 will be in a generous frame of mind. The Pygmies try to avoid this
by immediately sending meat to the village. But when villagers do
come, they are generally courteously received and allowed to stay
for a day or two. After that, if they are slow with gifts of rice or
tobacco, the Pygmies have various ways of making them move on.
The forest is the world of the Pygmy, and he is not bashful about
telling a villager who outstays his welcome just what he thinks of
him.

177 I stayed in one camp which was only a few hours from the village
and on the way to a Negro fishing ground. We were constantly beset by villagers passing through, and after a while the Pygmies got
tired of feeding them, tired of being used as a convenient stopping
177 place. So when they were asked for food, the Pygmies would agree
525 on condition that the villagers join them in a game of *panda*. This
is a gambling game in which beans are thrown on a mat, or on a
flat piece of ground. Some of them are quickly scooped up by one
of the two players. The other, looking to see how many are left,
has to estimate at a glance how many his opponent has taken. He
then tells his opponent to throw down one, two, or three beans, or to
stay as he is. The count is then made—also at a glance—and if the
player has an exact multiple of four he wins. But against villagers
[151] Pygmies always win. For one thing they have an uncanny sense of

3: Turnbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P
something to eat." He gave Hari's sister a playful push on the head, C 571
then lay back and seemed to go to sleep. 177 758

Hari led us out and into the long triangular hut. We went right P
through to the back and there, on each side, was a narrow bed of C 571
sticks. Here, he said, Kenge and I were to sleep. This was the visitors' 177
hut, he exclaimed. He and his sister slept in Kaweki's house. I asked 574 C
who the visitors were, as Kaweki was reputed to have none. "Oh, 342 [352]
I don't mean villagers," Hari said. "I mean Pygmies, his friends."

I had barely washed and sat down in the middle of the clearing P C
to eat the food prepared by Hari's sister, when there was the unmistakable 123
sound of a band of Pygmies approaching. In a few minutes
a score of them burst into the clearing—young men and women,
laughing and shouting their greetings.

They said that they had heard that Kaweki was ill, so they had P C
come to hunt for him and make him well. What had promised to be 123
a peaceful rest in a lazy fishing camp now threatened to be something 571
very different. These Pygmies had come as far as we had, but within 574 P
minutes of arrival they were off again for a quick hunt before the [224] •
sun set. Kenge himself joined them, taking Kaweki's two hunting
dogs and arming himself with a stout short-shafted spear. The P
women stayed behind to improvise some shelter for the night. But [342]
they decided it was too much work, so they just added some sticks
and leaves to the visitors' hut, forming an elongated windbreak that
reached almost over to Kaweki's house. By the time the men came P
back, empty-handed, they had installed themselves and were boiling [252]
pots of plantains and manioc, together with fish to which they had
helped themselves from Kaweki's rack. That night those who could
not squeeze into the shelters or into the overcrowded visitors' hut
slept in Kaweki's house. I myself found that the longed-for blessing
of sleep did not come easily. Kenge had, of course, found an old ?
girl friend among the newcomers, and the two of them lay together, [832]

881 everywhere. The men retreated to the outskirts of the clearing and
832 stood uncertainly, peering around trees or over the tops of huts, their
574 bows and banana skins at the ready.

But the girls felt they had achieved their end. Each one had marked her victim, who was bound by the strongest bonds of self-respect to respond to the challenge and brave the elima house itself. Pumba, who had followed at a safe distance, sat disconsolately on a log that Akidinimba had thrown at him in a friendly way, and he did not even look up as we left.

881 The girls sang all the way home; even when they left the forest and made their way back across the Epulu, gleaming orange and gold in the late afternoon light, they sang. They sang so that everyone should know that they were the *Bamelima*, the people of the elima, girls who had been blessed with the blood and were now women.

881 There were occasions when the mood was different. One evening
• 224 in particular, after a relatively quiet day, nearly all the women of the group gathered together outside the elima house. It was toward the end of the time that had been set, in an arbitrary fashion, for the duration of the festival. The Pygmies felt they had been in the village long enough, and the elima was interfering with their hunting. As much as the young men enjoyed hunting, the attraction of the elima house offered strong competition. If the boys were away too long, due to pressure from their parents, the girls complained that they were not being treated properly. Everyone agreed that this was an insoluble conflict, unless the elima was either brought to an end or moved out to the forest. It was not only the boys that were away from the hunt, but also the women and girls, who would otherwise have been gainfully employed gathering and helping to drive more animals into the men's nets. And the women said they were having far too good a time in the village. So it was decided to bring the elima to an end.

herself with her hands, wiping off all the beautiful decorations so 881
laboriously painted on her body by her friends. When the singing 152
ended and the girls retired for the night, Akidinimba was still as 302
decorative as when she first appeared, but Kidaya was just a mass of streaked and dirty gray. And there were tears in her eyes.

During the last week the elima battles reached their highest pitch, 881
both sides making the most of the opportunity while it lasted. The elima was, on the surface, a pretty happy-go-lucky affair, and what went on inside the hut was best left to the imagination. But in fact it all had a very definite purpose, and was closely supervised by the watchful eyes of Asofalinda and Mambunia. For the Pygmies, 881
the elima is not just a puberty rite for girls; it is a celebration of 885
adulthood, and just as much for boys as for girls. For Akidinimba 182
and Kidaya certain physical changes had taken place which marked them as women, but for boys there are no such self-evident changes. They have to prove their manhood. Village boys do this by entering the initiation schools, but even though Pygmies enter the same schools, it is for a different purpose, quite unconnected with adulthood as they see it. For them the elima serves the purpose, or at least a part of it.

In the elima, the boy has to show considerable courage to fight his way into the house, after he has been invited. In the last week the women maintain constant guard outside, and they are well supplied with all sorts of ammunition. If they want to keep any particular boy away from their daughters they are perfectly capable of doing it. And when a boy finally succeeds in breaking his way through he still has to face a possible beating from the girls inside. If he has not been invited by having been beaten beforehand, he will certainly have to go through it now.

As well as this, in order to prove himself a man, the boy has to 881
kill "a real animal." That is to say, not a small one, such as a child 885
might kill, but one of the larger antelopes, or even a buffalo, so prov- 224

881 ing that he is not only capable of feeding his own family but also able
885 to help feed the older members of the group who can no longer fend
224 for themselves.

881 Once a boy has gained access to the elima hut he may flirt or
836 even sleep with the girl who invited him. The elima gives an oppor-
584 tunity for boys and girls to get to know each other intimately, and such friendships often end in marriage. On the other hand, it gives two lovers a chance to discover that they are unsuited to each other
881 before becoming betrothed officially. From what I was told, by older
836 men and women as well as by the bachelors who took part in this elima, it is even possible to have intercourse, but with certain restrictions. These restrictions must be effective in preventing conception, because nowhere have I ever heard of a girl becoming pregnant in an elima house. A boy may sleep with a girl only if she consents. The tacit consent of her mother has already been given by his having been allowed to gain access to the elima house. If he sleeps with her then he must not leave the house and has to stay there until the festival is over, subject to the same restrictions as the girls. But he may decide on just a mild flirtation. Or he may—and this is considered a master move—simply turn around and leave the house without having paid the slightest attention to any of the girls. Whatever happens, there are always young women, such as Kondabate, to keep an eye on their younger companions and see that they do not get into trouble.

881 The conclusion of this particular elima was an anticlimax. The
771 Pygmies are not a ritualistically minded people; to them the im-
182 portant thing about any festival is that they should openly express their emotions and accept the realities of whatever situation the
[765] festival marks. Instead of living in constant fear of the spirits of the
[533] dead, performing elaborate rituals to remove the souls of the departed as far away as possible and as quickly as possible, the Pygmies sing
881 182 in their memory for months on end, during the molimo. And so,

3: Tumbull E-5 (1951-1958) 1962 FO4 Pygmies FO4
Mbuti
Congo-Kinshasa FO1

P Kenge asked in amazement **THE FOREST PEOPLE**
C if the Mabudo actually came so far
224 into the forest. The old man said that they did, but not very often.
[186] They came to dig traps or set up spear-falls for elephant. They both laughed at the strange hunting methods of the villagers. The digging of a trap was a long and arduous task, as was the setting up of a spear-fall. The latter method is particularly difficult. A stout spear blade is hafted into a heavy tree trunk which then has to be hauled up high above the ground. A vine is stretched underneath and acts as the trigger to release it. But the animals soon come to recognize any kind of trap and simply avoid it. We passed several, and sure enough we could see the tracks going right up to the edge, then carefully circling around in safety.

Kenge could not get over the notion of hiding from an elephant among the roots of a tree instead of going out and spearing it as any
P Pygmy would. For the rest of the day, whenever we passed an ele-
[522] phant tree he would dodge in among the roots, while the old guide pranced around outside pretending that he was the elephant, stooping down and swinging one arm loosely in front of him as though it were an elephant's trunk.

P This slowed our progress, and in the late afternoon our guide
484 suddenly put on pace. It was nearly dark when we climbed up a high ridge and followed it for a mile or two. At the end, before descending, we stopped and listened, and from down below, to the left, we heard the unmistakable sounds of a Pygmy camp—chattering, laughing; children playing and babies crying; and here and there someone singing. It was like being home again, and Kenge
P was all for going straight down. But our guide made us wait while
484 he went ahead and warned of our approach. It would have been per-
609 fectly possible for the camp to have been deserted by the time we reached it, if the Pygmies had thought that we were in any way undesirable company. As it was, when we finally appeared they all stood around in a silent and curious circle to welcome us, each family outside its hut, uncertain and shy.

222 527 camp resounded to songs of joy and praise, accompanied by the ringing
517 of the ngbengbe sticks as they were clapped together in complex
[533] cross rhythms by boys and girls alike. Every night Masisi told his group, which had steadily grown ever since the beginning, stories
[825] about the past. And every night we went to bed content, knowing that the morrow would be even better; for each day we discovered fresh growths of mushrooms, trees full of different kinds of nuts, and each night the chameleon gave its long, sad cry, to tell us that on the morrow we would have more honey.

222 One night in particular will always live for me, because that night
535 I think I learned just how far away we civilized human beings have
517 drifted from reality. The moon was full, so the dancing had gone on for longer than usual. Just before going to sleep I was standing outside my hut when I heard a curious noise from the nearby children's bopi. This surprised me, because at nighttime the Pygmies generally never set foot outside the main camp. I wandered over to see what it was.

[301] There, in the tiny clearing, splashed with silver, was the sophisticated Kenge, clad in bark cloth, adorned with leaves, with a flower stuck in his hair. He was all alone, dancing around and singing softly to himself as he gazed up at the treetops.

Now Kenge was the biggest flirt for miles, so, after watching a while, I came into the clearing and asked, jokingly, why he was dancing alone. He stopped, turned slowly around and looked at me as though I was the biggest fool he had ever seen; and he was plainly surprised by my stupidity.

[778] "But I'm *not* dancing alone," he said. "I am dancing with the
[821] forest, dancing with the moon." Then, with the utmost unconcern, he ignored me and continued his dance of love and life.

621 As the weeks went by, however, a note of dissatisfaction stirred
578 in the camp. Masisi began to complain that the others, including
602 224 Manyalibo, were way off to the north getting meat, yet they had

sent him, their own brother, none. And why did they not come 621
and join him? I expect that Ekianga was saying the same thing about 578 602
Masisi in the south, with all his honey. 224

One day I decided to go and see for myself. With Kenge I set off early in the morning, but after several hours of rapid trekking we came to a deserted camp. The fires still smoked, and it had obviously not been long abandoned. We scavenged around and found two spears and a bow and some arrows that had been left behind, presumably in the hurry to get away before we arrived. There were also several baskets and pots. Armed with the more worthwhile trophies we returned to Apa Toangbe. Masisi was wild with fury at this deliberate insult. He told Kenge and me to go off again the next day and find the others, and bring him back some meat.

We found them a considerable distance away. They were thoroughly surprised, having thought we would have been shaken off and discouraged. They hurriedly tried to conceal the great amount of dried meat that had been accumulating, but they could not hide it all. So they criticized Kenge for having been so mistrustful as to sneak up on them silently from the side, instead of using the main trail.

Kenge replied that in our experience we found that main trails only led to deserted camps. He then delivered Masisi's comments in full. The comments were pithy, and Kenge added his own embellishments. He dwelt mainly on family loyalties. There was no doubt that Manyalibo was wrong; he had even taken Masisi's hunting net, promising to send meat, and had never sent any. Njobo's net was there, too, yet his sister, Maipe's mother, had received none of the meat it had trapped. Ekianga himself had sent no meat to Asofalinda.

I had expected a spirited defense, but Manyalibo slowly came out of his hut, where he was hiding, and said grandly that we could take all his meat back to Masisi; he had had enough, and anyway he had really been saving it for his "brother." He added that as for

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578 joining Masisi, there was not much sense doing that now, as every-
224 one would probably be moving camp soon. Why didn't we all meet
[602] later somewhere near Apa Kadiketu?

Kenge and I returned, laden down with meat and protestations of friendship. Much the same thing happened when Masisi thought he would try similar tactics on Cephu. This time I went with Kelemoke, who had come to stay with us because he said he found Cephu's camp far too noisy. It was not much more than three hours away, and it was plain that Cephu had settled in well with his friends and relatives, because he was almost in the middle of a large and
[574] industrious camp. Everyone seemed to be eating well, and Cephu offered us food, which was unusual for him. He did not part with any meat—he had already heard of our haul at Ekianga's camp and asked why we had brought him none. I told him that Masisi thought it would be a good thing if he joined us and the others, and that he would get plenty of meat then. Cephu said he would think about it, but he was offended that we had brought him nothing.

Masisi pondered over these things for several days, and our evenings became interspersed with brief arguments between him and Mambunia and Kelemoke as to what they should do. Everyone was beginning to be hungry for meat again, and although Ekianga and Manyalibo had promised to send our nets back, they never did. We did not have enough people in our own camp to make a successful hunt. In the end Masisi made up his mind to steal a march on the others and get to Apa Kadiketu before they did. By this time we had been joined by a number of bachelors from both the other camps, and also by a third group of distant in-laws of Masisi, all of whom had learned that we were getting a great deal of honey.

621 On our way to Apa Kadiketu we heard news that brought matters
628 to a head. We met Madyadya coming hotfoot from the direction of the village to warn Ekianga that a group of foreign Pygmies from the other side of the Epulu had invaded our territory and were steal-

342 462 476 live in the house, will hold the two sticks in her hands, and the second woman, with both hands free, will do the wrapping and tying. After they set up the first woman's house they will go to work on the second woman's. Once they have tied the uprights into a dome, they weave in horizontal pieces in the form of hoops, to complete the frame, leaving an opening as doorway.

Then the women take the sarcophrynium leaves which they have collected, and nick the stems with their knives. These leaves have no midribs; they are palmate like grape leaves. They slip the notch in each stem over a place on a cross hoop, and soon have the whole house completely shingled; this roof will be watertight in the rain, and will last in all likelihood as long as they need the house, which is only from two [461] to three months. The whole house-building operation takes only two hours.

482 283 285 **Basketry and cordage.**—Each pygmy woman has a basket which she carries on her back when out collecting or when shifting camp. They plait these baskets themselves out of rattan and other fibers. The woman carries the basket on her back by means of a fiber tump line over her forehead. She will use a similar tump line to bring home her family's ration of plantains from the Negro village. There is a good reason for the use of the tump line here; in the forest it would be impossible to carry a head load very far without its being knocked off by a limb. The forest Negroes also use tump lines and back loads.

224 433 Pygmy Economic Activities

Hunting is the principal occupation of the pygmies; it is their principal reason for being able to maintain their relationship with their Negro hosts.

[P.327-B]

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Although between themselves the pygmies have little division of labor, in another sense they are all specialists in hunting, and the division of labor is between them and the Negroes. In this sense the pygmies form an ethnic caste, a genetically and occupationally segregated segment of a larger economic entity.

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This does not mean that the Negro does no hunting. However, the pygmy spends all of his time hunting, the Negro only a portion of his. The pygmy depends largely on his ability to move noiselessly and swiftly about the forest, and to climb trees. The Negro depends on his greater patience and mechanical ingenuity, for he hunts largely by means of elaborate traps, deadfalls, pits, weighted spears dangled over elephant paths, and other deadly devices. The pygmy could never be induced to dig a pit; it is too much work, takes too long, and takes too much concentration and persistence. Nor do they ever use traps.

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Throughout the pygmy country, the pygmies can be classified either as net hunters or non-net hunters, depending on whether they habitually practice big community hunts, driving animals into nets, or depend entirely on individual stalking as a means of securing game. They may also be classified by whether or not they use bows and arrows. In both net hunting and the use of the bow and arrow, the pygmies follow the lead of the Negroes among whom they live. Where the Negroes have nets, the pygmies have nets; where the Negroes have bows, the pygmies have bows. This is easily understood, since the Negroes make both the nets and the arrowheads. Presumably, the bowless pygmies are net hunters, for otherwise they could not live.

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[621]
Whether the pygmies in a group are net hunters or bowmen or both makes a considerable difference in the rest of

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their activities and in their social organization in particular, since the degree to which cooperation is required in hunting, and the numbers of people involved, are the principal factors in determining the composition of the band.

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Net hunting.—The technique of net hunting can best be described by going through the chronological events of a single day. The details of where and how to hunt are decided during the usual evening conversation period the night before. The chief argument lies in the weather; if it is going to be dry it will be better for net hunting. Since it will sometimes rain for three days, then go two days without rain, it is a matter of some speculation and prediction whether or not it will rain on a given afternoon. In general the weather permits net hunting, for it usually does not begin to rain until 4:00 P.M., and by that time the pygmies often have enough game to make the day's work profitable. The season is also important, for during the dry season the fallen leaves crackling underfoot make such a noise that stalking is hard even for a tracker so expert as the pygmy. However, this condition is good for net hunting, since it is necessary that the game hear the hunters.

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The men, women, and children start out early in the morning, and the women carry their babies on their backs. The men carry the nets. These are made of cordage, about the same width as tennis nets, but a little longer. Since the length of the net is functional in the hunting, the pygmies keep it fairly constant. As one end rots away they add onto the other end, until an old net may eventually be largely replaced by these additions. However, the pygmies prefer new nets made by the Negroes and, furthermore, there are rarely enough nets to go around. Hence they frequently beg their hosts for more.
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[P. 328-B]

224 When they have arrived at the right location, the men set up the nets in a line and stand by to tend them; the women spread out in a circle to beat. Often the pygmies will have dogs which they have borrowed from the Negroes, barkless dogs with wooden bells tied to their collars. Each woman cuts a lot of twigs and makes a little broom with them. She beats the bushes with it, and cries out, "Whoo, whoo, whoo, whoo!" over and over again. The young children, except for the babies which are being carried, are made to keep out of this.

[198] [825] When the women sight an animal and it heads for the nets, they change the tone of their baying; either they identify the kind of animal by this means or indicate that an animal in general is coming. When the animal rushes up to the net and entangles itself, the man who is tending that part of the net grabs the animal and kills it with his knife or spear. He will then beat his hand on his arm pit, and the others will come up to see what he has killed. Sometimes, however, the animal sees the net, or a man moves, and the animal leaps back into the line of women. Such an animal can well escape, for the women are not prepared to stop it. However, when a woman engaged in beating sights a slow animal, such as a turtle, pangolin, porcupine, or even a rat, she will dive for it and pop it into her basket which she carries on her back, and go on beating. [462] This is merely incidental gathering; slow animals are women's game.

During the course of a single day a pygmy band may set up their nets, conduct a drive, take the nets down, and repeat the process as many as seven times, each time in a different place. If the clouds collect early, they will go home. If there are no clouds and they have a good bag of game, they will still go home, but if it is dry and they

[P.329-A]

224 have little game they will keep on until nearly dark.

There is a difference in value between net positions in a net hunt. The central position is best because it catches the most animals, and the flanks are the worst. [192] [193] The pygmies have a whole vocabulary to express the details of net hunting, including a whole group of verbs for net setting in various positions. There seems to be some rule about who sets his nets in which spot, but this has not been recorded.

If a big animal, like a buffalo, comes toward the nets, the men will try to get them down and let him rush through, for they do not want to foul and tear the nets or to encounter the dangerous animal. If the large animal does strike the net, however, it may delay him long enough for the nearest man to rush up and spear him.

Most of the animals they catch are no larger than a dog or goat; for example, a kuchinda is about that size. The hunter cuts its throat and carries it around his neck, with hind and front legs on opposite sides. The average day's bag is about half of an animal of this size per man. If they have caught an okapi, however, the hunter cuts it up on the spot, and they cut small lianas to tie up the pieces with. The women also will carry some of it in their baskets. Almost always the meat goes directly to the camp after a hunt, where it is divided. Only after this will the share of the Negroes be carried to their village.

[481] **Bow and arrow hunting.**—In bow and arrow hunting, the pygmy relies not on his endurance but on his ability to move through the forest silently; that is his greatest skill and greatest asset. He can track an antelope to a thicket where it has lain down to sleep, and shoot it from five yards' distance before it wakes up. He shoots machine-gun style; he will pump five ar-

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224 rows in rapid sequence in the antelope's direction, and probably but one will hit him. The pygmy can do just as well by leaping on the animal barehanded, and either strangle it or kill it with a knife, and he often does this.

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411 In his quiver the pygmy usually carries two kinds of arrows, the first with iron tips, which he generally uses on the larger, antelope-size, animals, and wooden-tipped ones which are poisoned, and which he uses for monkeys. He rarely shoots a monkey with an iron-tipped arrow, through fear of losing it. Each man makes his own poison as well as his own darts. The plants from which the poison is made [824] are well known, and there is neither ritual nor mystery attached to the process. [137] The vital plant is a strophanthus; they will mix other plants with it, but they know which one does the trick.

The strophanthus poison is a heart stimulant. Its action is not immediate. The monkey runs along a bit, grows weaker, and urinates. The pygmies watch for this, for the moment of 224 urinating is the fatal one. If the monkey is out on a limb where there are no other branches, he will fall off; if he is within reach of a lateral branch or one rising upward, he will clutch it, and the hunter will be obliged to climb the tree if he wants the monkey. To do this he uses the technique described under pygmy locomotion. Since the monkeys are usually high in the trees and the pygmies are such poor marksmen, they undoubtedly miss more of them than they hit.

Elephant hunting.—Pygmy elephant hunting involves a technique that is wholly different from either of the above two. The pygmy elephant hunter is a specialist; not every pygmy has the courage to face an elephant and kill it, and not every man the skill. Whether [177] or not pygmies ever killed elephants in the early days, the present form of

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P 224 [178] • elephant hunting is a recent development, the historical growth of which can be easily traced. It is also an important reason for Negro-pygmy relations.

Z 224 The chief reason why the Negro hunts is to kill elephants. The elephants barge about in great herds, destroying the plantations which represent a great deal of labor in clearing the forest and planting the bananas, and which form the Negroes' whole capital, his whole means of livelihood. The elephants burst in, pushing down fences, eating some of the bananas by the bunch and trampling the rest. This dread calamity usually happens on moonless nights when it would be almost certain death to go out and attack the elephants. All the Negro can do is to let the elephants do their worst, and try to kill them later to prevent recurrence.

Z 237 439 435 177 In the old days, when the Negroes had killed an elephant they did not know what to do with the tusks, other than make bark-cloth beaters from a few, and a number of other minor uses. The majority of the tusks were therefore stuck up around the Negroes' clearings as fences. Now when the Arab traders began coming in from Zanzibar, they were interested in commodities which were nonperishable and of concentrated value, and ivory filled these specifications best of all local goods. At first the Arabs bought the ivory from the Negroes for very low prices, since the Negroes were ignorant of its worth. Then when the Negroes began raising the prices to equally ridiculous heights, the Arabs raided them and seized it, and the Negroes began hiding it. Ivory is heavy, and the Arabs had to find bearers to carry it Z [567] out to the coast. Hence they seized men and women and made them carry it, and when they arrived at the coast they sold their bearers as slaves, mak-

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237 ing a double profit. Slavery, therefore,
439 was a by-product of these raids, and
435 not the primary objective, which was
177 to obtain ivory. When the white men
[567] came in, they said to the Negroes,
"Why deal with these Arab slavers?
Sell your ivory to us, and we will leave
you alone." Thus, ivory became an
important item to the Negroes, and
the more they could get of it the better.

P The pygmy could never, by himself,
224 kill enough elephants to stop them from
177 trampling his host's gardens. He
437 could, however, kill enough to swell
Z his host's supply of ivory and increase
439 his host's capital. So a pygmy who
563 was an elephant hunter became a special
favorite of his Negro host and would
get special gifts and favors in return
for the ivory.

P The pygmy elephant hunter uses a
411 special spear. Its handle is three to
four feet long; its blade is leaf-shaped,
Z of thin iron, about eight inches long
[325] and four wide. It is Negro-forged, of
soft iron; the pygmy hunter sharpens
it on a stone, until it is razor sharp.

P His technique of hunting is daring
224 and simple, and takes as much skill as
that of a Spanish matador. He tracks the elephant, which is not difficult, until he knows from the spoor that he is close to it. When he hears the elephant's bowels rumble, he goes along even more quietly, until he sees the elephant through the underbrush. He then approaches the elephant silently, up wind; he jabs his spear as far as he can into the elephant, gashing the belly just behind the ribs; then he pulls it right out again. The elephant at this point usually turns, and the pygmies say that if you as much as wink at this moment you are a dead pygmy.

The man stands stock still, so the elephant can't see him. Then he goes through a sequence of stab and jump and stand still, as many times as he can. Every time the elephant looks

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• 224 away he stabs him, and every time the elephant turns he stands still. The elephant can run faster than a man, and the pygmy's only hope is to wound the animal so badly that it will be unable to catch him before he gets away.

Finally the elephant goes charging off with one or more wounds in his intestines. The hunter, with his spear in his hand, returns to the camp. Perhaps the other men will be there, but they may be out net hunting. In the latter case he waits until they have all assembled, and as soon as they are together he tells them his story. There is much excitement; men, women, and children crowd around him and inspect the spear. They may say, "Hmmm, only that much of the tip is bloody, probably he won't die. Let it go." But if the spear is bloody way down to such and such a point, then the elephant has a serious wound and they will follow him.

[484] In the latter case the whole camp goes together. The women load on their babies and cooking pots, and their bunches of plantains. The men take their weapons, and they leave only an old man or two to watch the camp while they are away. They will follow the elephant two or three days, until he finally lies down and dies of peritonitis. Sometimes he has been dead for some time when they reach him, and he may be blown up like a balloon and rotten. Still they will eat him, for rotten meat, if thoroughly boiled, is edible.

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796 When a group of pygmies reaches a blown-up elephant, a special ceremony takes place. A man other than the elephant hunter cuts a square of skin off the elephant's side. He cuts this up and puts pieces into the mouths of everyone. Then he cuts another layer, and passes this around, and another layer, until he comes down to a point where the body wall is very thin, and

224 796 everyone has had a taste of the raw skin.

Then a small male child, squalling and screaming, is thrust on the elephant's side; he is told to bite, which he does, and the balloon bursts.

This ceremony is repugnant to the pygmies, as they do not like raw meat; it is especially repugnant to the child, who does not enjoy having the whole rotten insides of the elephant burst in his face.

[611] The child is the youngest son of the man who killed the elephant. If the man has no suitable son, it may be his nephew; or, if he has several young sons and the youngest is too small, either to understand the order or to bite, it will be the next older son.

224 Now that the elephant has burst, the ceremony is over, and a free-for-all takes place; the men cut the sides open, pull out the entrails, and climb inside to hack away at the meat. Other men rush to the head and chop away the tusks. The women take the pieces of meat which their men hand to them, and boil them. As soon as they have cooked one chunk, they will start to [251] boil another. Everyone eats as much of the boiled meat as he is able, and they spread out the rest on drying racks; when it has dried they will take it into the village to the Negroes, who keep it and eat it gradually, for the combination of boiling and drying serves as a means of preserving it, the only food preservation the pygmies practice, and then not for themselves. The tusks go to the special patron of the elephant hunter, and the patron sells them to the Greek or Hindu trader; the patron gives the pygmy a small share of what he receives.

Division of meat.—The need of giving some of the meat to their Negro hosts, and the knowledge that no one will starve as long as they can get bananas, makes the problem of meat di-

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224 vision among the pygmies different than among food-gatherers who have a more direct and immediate dependence on hunting. The principles which the pygmies follow are: (1) The biological family is the least common denominator, the basic unit in sharing. No man would think of eating his meat without giving some to his wife and children. (2) The next unit in sharing is the family group. Any man who has acquired meat will share some of it with other biological families within his family group, but all the shares may not be equal or equivalent. (3) Each man who participates in a hunt is given a share commensurate with his degree of participation. Thus if men from several family groups combine in a hunt, the meat goes to them, and they share their portions within their family groups by single unit families.

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For practical purposes, the chief distinction is between meat acquired by stalking and that acquired by net hunting. In the case of stalking, only one man, or more often two or three, will be involved, and these men may well belong to the same family group. With net hunting, however, the whole camp joins the hunt and the whole camp shares the bag.

When an animal is caught net hunting, a number of people have special rights. The man who owns a hunting dog which chased the animal gets the neck. Other special pieces go to the man in whose net it was caught. However, someone else may have borrowed the net and been tending it at the time, and the net tender thus gets a special piece. Then there are pieces for the men whose women bayed it in, and every degree of participation in the killing is recognized and suitably rewarded.

If they bring in five or six antelope there is enough meat for everyone to eat well that night. One family may

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224 get one cut of one animal, another cut of another, depending on what part they played in the capture of each. In any case, even if there is only one animal, everyone will get something to eat. This does not mean that all families eat equally well, however; some have more than others, some better cuts. There is both a reward for special luck and prowess, and a charitable mechanism for those who have shown neither. Sometimes the net hunters catch an okapi; in this case there is enough meat to feed the camp for a week, and everyone eats and eats well.

The meat is cut up by the man who killed the animal, or anyone who knows the rules. In any case there are always arguments. The man who makes a [626] mistake is cried down; they all know [571] the rules, or think that they know them. Government, as far as distribution of spoils is concerned, is by argument and common consent without specific leadership in any individual—the typical pygmy way of making decisions and ordering events.

In the case of the hunter who catches his animal all alone, without help of any kind, the carcass belongs to him alone. Theoretically, he and his family could [626] eat it all up if he wished, but there is little chance that this would happen; he would not dare face public opinion. He would be labeled a mean man and [439] would suffer for it in the end. It may happen however that he is behind in his gifts to his Negro host. In this case he will take the carcass uncut into the village, to avoid trouble from that quarter, and the other pygmies will not hold this against him, provided that there is other food to eat.

[170] The division of spoils after an elephant hunt follows the same principle as it does among the Indians of Tierra del Fuego or Lower California when a whale washes ashore—regardless of who may be responsible there is a

[P 333-A]

224 mountain of meat and a free lunch for
171 all as long as it remains edible.

222 **Gathering.**—The gathering of fruits, nuts, and slow animals has a minor importance during most of the year, for the bulk of the pygmies' vegetable food derives from the crops of their Negroes. However, after the evening meal, while the men sit about the fires chatting, the women gather firewood and bring in, just before dusk, any mushrooms and slow game that they may encounter.

[221] The dry season, in January and
February, is the time of the ripening
of certain fruits and seeds. At this
time of the year the pygmies easily
could live on the fruit borne by the
wild forest trees. It is a period of sea-
sonal abundance and feasting. The
[137] ibambi, a big luscious fruit that looks
like a pineapple, is one of the most im-
portant of these fruits. It drops to the
ground with a thud, and pygmies and
chimpanzees alike will rush up when
[825] they hear it strike. The pygmies often
tell stories of chimpanzees that get so
full of ibambi that they can eat no
more, but hide one in a crotch of a tree
for future use; a pygmy sees this and
steals it, and the chimpanzee gets a
grudge against the pygmy and decides
to annoy him in the future.

[137] Next to the ibambi fruit in importance is the baselli nut. This is covered by a tough fibrous husk which can be opened only with a machete; hence, the chimpanzees do not rival the pygmies in this case.

Other gathered foods include termites, which come when the first heavy rains begin after the dry period; colonial caterpillars, which have a later season; and honey.

PYGMY INTERACTION

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157 **Evening talking time.**—The pyg-
571 mies seem to be a little less talkative
[P.333-B]

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821 especially those taken from a wild pepper plant, to stop storms; and the lighting of smoky fires in the forest, by the women in some camps, during the early or mid-day to keep the weather clear for hunting.[3] I have not witnessed these particular practices. My own experience with weather magic has been that on a number of occasions I was prevented from performing seemingly harmless actions. Once I started to pick a beautiful red hemanthus flower and was told, "Don't do that, master, or it will rain before we get back to camp." Again, I was about to drop a stone into a brook and was told the same thing. The pygmy attitude
[811] seemed to involve a simple cause and effect relationship between the human action and the weather. All the magic which I personally observed is designed to avoid making it rain.

• 224 **Hunting magic.**—Hunting magic is
789 usually a simple business. During the division of meat, the elder who is cutting it cuts a small piece off the heart and tosses it into the forest, before he gives the heart, the hunter's portion, to the hunter. In some regions hunters rub ashes obtained from burning a certain leaf around their eyes, to make them see the game better.[4] Another trick is to take the leaves of a certain species, on which a certain kind of animal feeds, and drape them on the hunter's bow; he may also burn them and rub the ashes on his body.

844 **Life cycle and rites of passage.**—There appears to be no ritual recognition of the birth of a child. If a woman is out on the trail, and feels her time arriving, she will stop and bear her child, then go on. If she is in camp, which is usually the case, other women
862 will help her. The women nurse their children a long while, well after they
000 are able to walk and talk. There is a

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[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 157.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[P.339-B]